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THE MAGYARS:

THEIR COUNTRY AND INSTITUTIONS.

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BY

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THE MAGYARS.

ETC. ETC.

CHAPTER XVI.

HUNGARIAN SOCIETY.

Hungary and America—Utilitarian Conversation—Sciolism—Difference between America and Hungary—Mediæval Remains—Young and Old Hungary—Rude Plenty—Disregard of Foreign Opinion—Influence of French Wars—Petőfi's Sarcasms—Recent Origin of Pest—Of Hungarian Literature and Society—A Practical Joker—The Dissipated Club—A Hungarian Jew in America—Cost of a Carriage-Pole—Neologisms—The Latin Language—Noble Predicates—Agricultural Habits.

THE ideas entertained by many Englishmen about Hungary may be comprehensively summed up in the epithets "mediæval," "chivalrous," and "oriental." It may therefore seem strange that the countries which constantly occurred to my mind as furnishing parallels to Hungary, were America of the present day and England of the last century, neither of them

very romantic countries certainly. The points in which it resembles America, are those which are common to all countries at the present day in a certain stage of industrial development, where immense quantities of agricultural produce are raised for exportation, where, in proportion to the low price of that produce, agricultural labour is highly remunerated, where population is scanty and land cheap. There is an amount of materialism, of sciolistic political economy in modern Hungarian conversation, which a stranger would hardly expect to hear from the mouths of the booted and braided representatives of the hordes of Árpád and Attila. What is the first duty of a father of a family whose estate is heavily mortgaged? Can timber be advantageously planted on the shifting sand-hills of the Great Plain? Would our town be benefited or injured by the further extension of the railway of which it is now the terminus? Such are the sort of questions one hears most often discussed in the most national circles. Next to the political question of the day, no subjects are more generally discussed than those which relate to the material progress of the country. One man holds forth on an improved breed of sheep; another on railways; another on canals; another on the introduction of foreign trees capable of resisting the frequent droughts of the *Alföld*. I remember once being one of a

picnic party on the Great Plain. We were all of the middle class, just the one in which the narrowest national prejudices were to be looked for. But the centre of conversation was a man whom the government had commissioned to make plantations of trees and look after their preservation. The various advantages to be derived from these plantations were discussed at large. The shifting sands would be kept in their place, and not allowed, as at present, to be blown by every gale on to the ploughed lands. Then again the rainfall would be increased, and on the amount of the rainfall depends the prosperity or ruin of the *Alföld*. Besides, there was the question of fuel, which every year became more important and more urgent in that region. And so on. The only exception in the company affirms the rule more conspicuously. It was an old gentleman, who was, I should say, rather above eighty than under, and therefore belonged entirely to the old school. So far was he from sympathizing with the utilitarianism of the younger generation that he was in despair lest the Englishman should return to his own country with the idea that Hungarians could neither drink, nor dance, nor sing, nor—in one word—make merry.

In a previous chapter on the Hungarian plain I had occasion to allude to another point of resemblance to America. I refer to the remarkable transferability of landed property in that part of the world, which

has been noticed by Dr. Ditz; and this owing to the want of traditions attached to the soil of any particular estate. I shall have occasion further on to refer to other characteristics common to both these two new countries, a certain intellectual superficiality and sciolism, a rough and ready method of doing things, in which little importance is attached to accuracy and finish, a contempt for literary education, and a certain consequent vulgarity of taste. In both these new countries literature and newspapers are almost coextensive terms.

This resemblance of Hungary to America struck me the more forcibly because it was something which I was not prepared to find there. Another traveller, after reading these remarks of mine, would naturally be more struck by the equally real points of difference between the two countries. The acreage of actually virgin soil in Hungary diminishes rapidly every day, although what is cultivated is cultivated but imperfectly, and the country still affords a profitable field for the immigration both of capital and of labour. With respect to this point, the difference between them may be fairly stated as one of scale and extent. Hungary does not resemble America, taken as a whole, but rather some small part of it, intermediate between the manufacturing districts of Pennsylvania and the newly-planted settlements on the skirts of the western wilderness. Besides which, however pre-

dominant agricultural industry may be in the United States, trade and the trading spirit are fully developed there. America has no peasants, consequently the resemblance between it and any country on the Continent of Europe can be but a distant one. And if we take primary and secondary education into consideration, Hungary will stand far, very far, behind the great republic.

But these remarks only imperfectly indicate some of the points of dissimilarity—and those chiefly economic ones—which exist between the two countries. There are other important differences which arise from the fact that although Hungary is in some respects a new country, it is in others an old one. Indeed, the epithet "mediæval" is not quite so irrelevant and unmeaning when applied to it as are "chivalrous" and "Oriental." Hungary is full of "old families," whose ancestors are said, with or without truth, to have taken part in the *honfoglalás* (occupation of the fatherland) under Árpád (894), an event which plays the same part in Hungarian family records that the Norman Conquest does in English. In the more inaccessible portions of the country, which were not so much harried by invaders, may be found the ruins of castles, built in the mediæval and renaissance periods. There is, besides, a strong aristocratical flavour about Hungarian society, a constant reference to old precedents, royal charters, and

patents of nobility written on dogskin, all things essentially foreign to the newly-baked communities west of the Atlantic.

It has been said that coming events cast their shadows before them; it is at least equally true that the shadows of past events remain after them. In Hungary, as in most other countries, at any rate in modern Europe, we find two populations living confusedly together,—the old and the young. If Young Hungary suggested to me America, Old Hungary reminded me of Addison's *Spectator* and Fielding's *Tom Jones*. When speaking of the Hungarian county magistrates, I had occasion to point out the close resemblance which in social and political matters existed between the England of the last century and the Hungary of thirty years ago.

The stories which I heard or read of this pre-revolutionary society continually reminded me of the people of Laish, who "dwelt careless, after the manner of the Zidonians, quiet and secure; and there was no magistrate in the land, that might put them to shame in anything; and they were far from the Zidonians, and had no business with any man."* From the middle of the last century until the end of the first quarter of this, the Hungarians vegetated, rather than lived, in the state which M. Szemere so epigrammatically described, when he spoke of his

* Judges xviii. 7.

countrymen as having been "rich without money, poor without want." The more vulgar phrase expressed the same idea by saying that the Hungarians were choked in their own fat. In this state of things hospitality was not so much a virtue as an amusement. The stranger, who brought a new face to the festive board or the card-table, supplied the place of newspapers and theatres. Provender for his beasts was furnished in abundance by the farmyard, and the larder and store-room were full to overflowing, for there were no roads to take the accumulated produce away. What wonder then if the village innkeeper received strict orders from his landlord to send all guests having the faintest claims to respectability up to the manor-house? It was something if they came from a distant county; if from a foreign country, they were so much the more welcome. Once arrived in a nobleman's *curia*, it was not so easy to escape. One of the wheels of the travelling-carriage was taken off and hidden away in some hayloft or barn, the fatted calf was killed, and the neighbouring gentry were invited to witness the triumph of the host. Even now, in spite of the changes that have passed over the land, I saw enough in Transylvania to explain how in the last century Goldsmith could wander over half Europe with an empty purse and a tuneless flute. I think I could have dispensed with the flute.

Before the French Revolution—or even before the

end of the great French wars—the Hungarians had cared but very little indeed for the ideas or opinions which might be entertained about them abroad. Nor was any great sensibility on that score extensively felt in the country until the catastrophe of 1848 flung out so many to seek sympathy and bread in foreign lands. They knew that they were misunderstood and misrepresented by the Germans of Vienna, but then from that quarter they expected nothing better. We English who are so much amused by the French caricatures of us, and are thereby only the more confirmed in our insular prejudices, can have no difficulty in understanding this, their careless independence of foreign opinion. The Hungarians, in fact, during the greater part of their history did not duly appreciate the paramount importance of forcing their way into the common circle of European nations.

Now all this is entirely changed.

The great wars of Napoleon, by bringing the Hungarians into contact with more civilized nations, contributed a great deal to rouse them out of their apathy. Kisfaludy himself was a prisoner of war at Avignon. Then came the peace, the occupation of Paris by the Allies, the Congress of Vienna, which brought the diplomatists of all Europe to the frontier of Hungary. According to a popular story,—whether true or not is the same for my purpose,—Széchenyi was aroused to the sense of his duty as a patriot by

overhearing, in a Parisian salon, while attached to the Austrian embassy, an Englishman's sarcasm on himself as a specimen of the whole body of Hungarian magnates. Whether as prisoners or conquerors, the Hungarians were deeply affected by the contrast Western Europe presented to their own country and commenced at home the work of reformation which produced the revolution of 1848. The almost hopeless lamentations of the elder Kisfaludy, and the eloquent and pathetic denunciations of Berzsenyi, were succeeded by the stern lessons and practical advice of Count Széchenyi, and the bitter, though patriotic sarcasms of Petöfi. In one of his lyrics the latter satirizes his fatherland under the burlesque name of "Okatootáia," as a happy country, for though it felt many forms of want, one at any rate, and that its bitterest form, mental want, was here unknown. "Here the soul is a modest animal, which requires neither hay nor corn, but, as a donkey thistles, chews the calendar the whole year through." In another lyric he exclaims :—

"I am a Hungarian, and my face burns with shame, for I must blush that I am a Hungarian, since here amongst us the dawn hath not yet appeared, while elsewhere already blazes the mid-day sun; but for no treasure, for no glory on earth would I desert my birth-land, for I love with burning love, with devotion, my nation, even in its disgrace."

Few travellers who are now whirled by the railway or the steamboat to Pest, where they find a gay modern capital, with its large booksellers' shops full of Hungarian books, with its National Museum, and its Palace of the Academy, suspect how new all this is. In 1820 there was no museum, there was no academy, nay, there was not even a capital. The idea that Hungary ought to have a capital, had not yet arisen, or was as yet confined to the brains of a few poetical visionaries. There was then scarcely any Hungarian literature, much less any booksellers' shops for its sale. The very language in which the present literature is written was then in the process of making.

If a Hungarian landed proprietor sought for pleasure or distraction, if a Hungarian student sought knowledge, they went abroad to Vienna, to Heidelberg, to Paris. But then the rule was to stay at home. Life was then limited by the boundary of the county, or at most the local aristocracy collected to dance together through the winter in some provincial centre of fashion, such as Kassa, or Temesvár. Then no Diet had been held for nine long years. Those who were in authority intended that no such assembly should ever be convoked again. The *ennui* of this life, imperfectly relieved by a ball or a wolf-hunt, gave rise to a race of vulgar rakes, and the coarsest practical jokers. Mr. Jókai in his *Magyar Nabob* has given us a picture at once forcible and

humorous, of the degraded state of Hungarian society at that time. I do not say that Hungary did not then possess as many estimable citizens as any other country at any other period. But they had no field, no career in which to exercise their talents and display their virtues, no focus in which their influence could be concentrated so as to benefit the society of their country. This state of things may be appreciated from the fact that the institution of horse-races on the plain of Rákos, just outside Pest, has ever since been regarded as a reform fraught with the most important social and political consequences. A like importance was attached to the foundation of the Casino, a non-political club for bringing men together at Pest.

Among the practical jokers, to whom I have alluded above, the most celebrated was Józsa Gyuri. He was a Calvinist landed proprietor of Tisza-Füred, situated in the most inaccessible and roadless part of the country, the Alföld. He is generally supposed to be the original from which Mr. Jókai drew his portrait of the "Magyar Nabob;" but that romance-writer has too good a heart, not to say too much patriotic sentimentality, to describe Józsa as he really was. It may be doubted whether such a human being as the Magyar Nabob ever existed. In the first chapter he is represented as a provincial debauchee, amusing himself with low buffoonery;

before the end of the tale he exhibits a most excellent heart and the utmost delicacy of sentiment. But Józsa Gyuri was consistent from beginning to end. He lived a prodigal and a buffoon, and breathed his last under "another man's hedge," literally fulfilling the Hungarian proverbial expression for the extremest distress.

Another prominent member of the *Korhely Kompánia*, "dissipated club," was Count Nicholas Keglevich of Szilvás. One day Józsa came to a meeting of the *Korhely Kompánia* at Szilvás in a new coach, of which he was evidently very proud. As Count Keglevich took him over his grounds, he dwelt upon the high price of hay, and congratulated himself on the possession of a fine large rick, which he pointed out to his friend Gyuri. The latter took the hint in the way it was intended, and, as soon as it was dusk, persuaded some of the members of the club to sally out with him and set this rick on fire. In a short time there was nothing left of it but ashes. When, next morning, Mr. Józsa would proceed on his journey, his new carriage was nowhere to be found. "Why, my friend," said the Count, "you yourself burnt it last night. The fact is, my coach-shed wants repairing, and, as the evening threatened to be wet, we put your carriage under the rick to keep it dry."

Ex uno disce omnes. Such are the stories about

the *Korhely Kompánia*, of which the novelist Vas Gereben tells any number in his tale entitled *An Alispán*. By such adventures Józsa became known throughout the length and breadth of the land. At that time a journey from Hungary to America was a much rarer achievement than it is at present. Some Hungarian gentlemen, having made the journey, found a Jewish innkeeper who had emigrated from Hungary. In the joy of their hearts at meeting a countryman, they entered into conversation with him, in the course of which they asked him if, in spite of his doing so well in America, he did not often wish himself back in the old country. To their surprise, he answered that he preferred remaining where he was. Being pressed for his reasons, he said, "Well, for many reasons; for instance, here there is no Herr Georg von Józsa."

Gyuri's father was in the habit of carrying about with him in his carriage the sum of 40,000 florins, so that he might never lose the opportunity of picking up a good bargain. One day, as he was on a journey, the pole of his carriage broke. The road happened to lead through a wood, into which he and his coachman went to pick out a tree for a new pole. Their search led them deeper and deeper into the wood, and when they at length returned with a young tree just suitable for the purpose, the carriage, the horses, and the 40,000 florins had all disappeared.

As I have before observed, for all practical purposes Hungarian literature, as a living literature, did not then exist. These country squires thought reading an eccentricity—at any rate, reading for amusement—for they all professed a knowledge of Hungarian law, which was written in Latin. But if reading for amusement was an eccentricity, still more eccentric was it to read Hungarian books. People who had a taste for literature read Latin. When the reformers urged the claims of the infant national literature, the gentlemen of the old school compared its productions with the classics of the Augustan age, shook their heads, pronounced them inferior,—they would have none of it. Indeed, they did not understand the language in which these new books were written. As Latin was their school language, in which they studied all that they did study, whether history, law, or *belles lettres*, they expressed all the ideas peculiar to these subjects — even when they spoke Hungarian — by words of which the roots were taken from the Latin, and only the terminations from the Magyar. A German satirist—and a very malignant one too—who published, in 1850, his experiences as a music-master in the houses of the Hungarian squires, tells us that at dinner the conversation generally turned on the meaning of the neologisms which they found in their Hungarian newspapers, about whose meaning they were very often in doubt. But they habitually talked a culinary

Latin, especially if they wished not to be understood by the lower classes. Vas Gereben, describing the exclusion of the peasant from political life, represents him as hoping to learn something about the state of the country by listening to the conversation of the "worshipful sirs," whom he was driving home from the county meeting. But one of them, perceiving his interest, disappointed him, saying to his friend, "*A mice, loquamur latinè.*"

A Hungarian proverb warns you to beware of a "Latin" coachman, meaning thereby an amateur coachman, one who has received a liberal education. So completely was the Latin language considered the be-all and end-all of learning, that the word *deák*, which signified a student, schoolboy, or one who has received the education of a scholar, has come to be equivalent to "Latin." The adverb *deákul* is equivalent to *latinè*, and the Latin language is generally called *a deák nyelv*, "the student language."

This old Hungarian society was essentially a society of "noblemen." The Hungarian language, like the English, has no particle corresponding to the French *de* and the German *von*.* But still a man's surname often indicated, by its orthography, whether he was "noble" or not. The Magyar language, like

* Thus the expression which we often see in English newspapers, "Herr von Deák," or, still worse, "M. von Deák," are essentially un-Hungarian.

the Welsh, not possessing a large or an extensively read literature, was able to reform its orthography from time to time. This is really the secret of the superiority in rationality of Welsh and Hungarian orthographies over French and English. But when a reform in orthography was made, the names of the old families did not alter with it. Thus the name Kiss is supposed to indicate nobility as compared with Kis, as the second *s* is quite superfluous. Again, such anti-orthographical forms as Dessewffy, Eötvos, Eördögh, Thewrewk, Ghyczy, Kovách, are eminently aristocratic. According to the authorised orthography of the present day they should be written Dessöffi, Ötvös, Ördög, Török, Giczi, Kovács. Similar deviations from that orthography may be observed in many geographical proper names, such as Thurocz, Némethi, Sümegh. In the present Hungarian alphabet, *y* is not an independent letter. It is merely an orthographical sign which enters into combination with certain consonants to form new letters. But a great number of the names of old families end in *y*, instead of *i*. The novelist, to whom I have so often referred, to mark his adhesion to democratic principles, in 1848 changed his name from Jókay to Jókai.

But another even more important and characteristic mark of a family's nobility was its so-called "predicate." Every Hungarian nobleman had three names, which were arranged in the following order:—

first the predicate, then the surname or family name, and lastly the Christian name. The first was in many cases, perhaps in the majority of cases, merely another version of the second. Thus the great poet-critic of Hungary wrote his name at length as Kazinczi Kazinczy Ferencz, *i.e.* Francis Kazinczy of Kazincz. So, too, the Kisfaludys were Kisfaludy of Kisfalud. The exceptions were numerous: thus the Hungarian statesman, whose name is more familiar to the English public than that of any other of his countrymen, is Kehidai Deák Ferencz, or Francis Deák of Kehida. Indeed, like our Lord St. Vincent, and Baron Napier of Magdala, a Hungarian nobleman may take his predicate from some place in a foreign country. Thus there is a family named Albert whose predicate is Montedegoi, from a village in Piedmont, where the Austrians gained some advantage over the soldiers of the French Republic.

The habits of this old society were those of an agricultural class, which is still very much the case. This is the real reason why the Hungarians dine early and sup late. Late suppers are, perhaps, always objectionable, but they are particularly so where the precept "early to bed and early to rise" is literally acted on. I once hinted as much to one of my hostesses when staying in a country house. She admitted the force of the objection, but said that on the long summer evenings when both masters and

men stayed out in the fields till late it would be inconvenient to have it at an earlier hour than nine, or half-past. A more amusing instance of the predominance of agriculture was afforded me by an answer of the servant of a young Roman Catholic priest, who got up early to study. When I said that it was *szép* (fine, beautiful, hence praiseworthy,) to get up so early, the old woman grumbled *se tehen, se disznc*, "neither cow nor pig," as if care for his live stock was the only thing that could get a man out of bed.

CHAPTER XVII.

HUNGARIAN SOCIETY—Continued.

Magnate Deputies—Position of the Upper House—Influence of the Magnates — Courtiers become Patriots — Public Services of the Magnates —Patriotic Liberality—Magnates and Squires—Spain and Hungary contrasted—Politics as a Topic of Conversation—Why French is learnt—Hungarian Snobbishness—Anglo-Mania—Ladies' Newspapers—The Language fit for a Gentleman—Foreign Languages a Necessity—Disadvantages of their Study—Educational Charlatans—Idleness and Patriotism—Former Educational System —Concentration of Literary Class—Magyar Opinion of Foreigners —Importance of Turkish Railways.

"'THIRTY Magnates in the House of Representatives; what do they want there?' grumbled my respected uncle in his sulkiest manner. What sort of man my respected uncle is, I cannot better describe than by saying that during the burning heat of summer, he goes about with a *kucsma* (winter cap) of black lambswool on his head, while his grey disordered beard, untouched by the razor during the last twelve years of mourning, would give one the

idea of an old fellow, did not the bloom of youth still adorn his nose, to bear witness that

To drink the wine of Szerednye is the truest patriotism.

That is to say, my respected uncle has preserved as a cherished legacy from the good old times a certain antipathy against the magnates; partly, because he himself would like to be one of them; partly, because their more refined manners and superior education annoy and embarrass him. Now from some obscure ideas which he has formed about the laws of 1848, he believes that the magnates only exist by sufferance; it is true that out of courtesy or good nature one still addresses them as 'Baron' or 'Count,' but even that *contre cœur*.

"'What do those thirty magnates do there?' But, my respected uncle, on your own democratic principles, there is now legally no distinction of classes; there are no magnates; we live under a system of social equality. Or, do you wish that we should revise the laws of 1848, and insert in them an additional paragraph to the effect that no magnate can be elected deputy? That would certainly be a system of social equality, but the magnate would become a pariah."

This passage, from a political squib of the year 1861, illustrates at once those social prejudices entertained by the more old-fashioned squireens against

the magnates, and at the same time the very small political importance of the Upper House of the Hungarian Legislature. Even more decidedly than our own House of Lords it has sunk to the position of a mere court of registration. Two causes of the inferiority of the Hungarian House of Lords as compared to the English, are sufficiently patent. In the first place, all the sons of a count or baron have seats in the House as soon as they are twenty-four years of age, and in the case of a great majority of magnate families they all succeed to equal shares of their father's estate. By this means the number of hereditary legislators is vastly increased, their average wealth is proportionally diminished, and with it their independence and the respect and confidence which they inspire. But the second cause contributes perhaps even more to lower the House of Magnates below the level of our House of Peers. In Hungary any magnate may become a candidate for election into the Lower House, and in a contested election his rank is supposed to give him an advantage *cæteris paribus* over his competitors. We have seen that there were thirty magnates elected as deputies in the Diet of 1861. Double that number sat in the Diet of '65-68.

Considering their vast estates—the ten largest landowning families are said to possess not less than a sixth part of the area of the kingdom between them

—these oligarchs have not as much political influence as might have been expected. As for their social influence, that is greater than their political; but it acts chiefly by exciting antipathy and stimulating envious rivalry. When we think of Hungary as an aristocratic country—which it certainly is—we are apt to think that it is governed by these wealthy and magnificent *grands seigneurs*, a class of which the late Prince Eszterházy may be taken as the type. The real fact is that these men have but little political influence in the country. Nor is it difficult to explain why not. When Maria Theresa would denationalize the Hungarians, she began, naturally enough, with the highest class of Hungarian society. The richest of the magnates were but too readily seduced; they took up their residence permanently in Vienna that they might bask in the sunshine of her favour and that of her successors; they spent in foreign capitals and at foreign watering-places the immense revenues which they drew from their Hungarian estates; they forgot their native language, and neglected to teach it to their children; they despised their fellow-countrymen, and were by them at once despised and envied. Their example contributed not a little to germanize the classes immediately below them, and to keep Hungary still longer without a real capital, while pleasure and dissipation, culture and court favour were sought at Vienna. At the beginning of the

second quarter of this century, but very few wealthy magnates could speak the national language, and the citizens of Pest, Buda, and Presburg knew it no better. If one were asked to name, among the highest Hungarian aristocrats of that period, the two most conspicuous for their patriotism, the answer would be the names of Counts Stephen Széchenyi and Lewis Batthyány. Yet neither of these patriotic noblemen could succeed in speaking Hungarian "like a native," and the construction of their sentences often showed clearly enough that, while speaking in Hungarian, they were thinking in German. When that was the case with such men as these, we cannot be surprised to hear the few magnates who took service under Schmerling's government ridiculed for speaking Hungarian badly.

Indeed, the re-magyarization of germanized magnates is one of the indirect, but not the least interesting, results of the constitutional movement in Hungary. The Tchekh aristocracy of Bohemia when once germanized were never recovered to their original nationality. The destruction of their country's constitutional liberties prevented their having any inducement to learn her national language, or to identify themselves with her national aspirations. With the Hungarian magnates the case was otherwise. They were attached to their country not only by their family names, but also by the privileges of

their order. As long as these privileges were attacked only from above, as long as they had to defend them against their German sovereigns, they did not feel any need of the despised Hungarian language. But when, with the third decade of this century, their privileges were menaced from below, when they had to defend them against a large party of their own countrymen in the public assemblies of the counties and the Diet, they perceived how untenable was their position. Denationalization had become an evident source of weakness. In most cases it was too late for them to repair their own deficiencies. They had to content themselves with giving a silent vote for reforms which they could not advocate, or seek by alliance with the Viennese Government to put off the inevitable evil day as far as possible. But in either case they determined that their children should not suffer from the same source of embarrassment, and had them taught the national language with all diligence. At the present day, a knowledge of the Hungarian language is no longer a rare accomplishment of the Hungarian aristocracy.

Nor were the martial renown of the Magyars in former days, and their position as the representatives of those who had "occupied" the land with their sword and with their bow, without effect on the imaginations of aristocrats, themselves often of German, Italian, or Slav origin. "The memory of

our barbarian past," said one of my friends to me, "causes even the wealthy magnate, who walks about with a quizzing-glass stuck in his eye, and who does not even know how to speak Hungarian, to be proud of the name of Magyar."

The public services of the great dynasts, the Zrinyis, the Nádasdys, the Vesselényis, were chiefly conspicuous for the armed insurrections, or the intrigues and negotiations at Vienna, at Stambul, in France, and in Germany, in defence of the aristocratic constitution. This state of things came to an end in 1711, when Alexander Károlyi, the ancestor of the present countly family of the same name, who was at that time the leader of the insurgents as lieutenant of Rákóczy, concluded the Peace of Szatmár with the Emperor-King Joseph I. Rákóczy was at that time in Russia, whither he had gone to seek assistance from the Czar of Muscovy. But the aristocracy, although by less violent and less prominent means, still continued to render great and important services to the Hungarian nation. As their kings were foreigners the institutions of the country did not receive that patronage from the Crown which would have been their portion in any other country. M. de Gérando, in his *Transylvanie et ses Habitants*," observes of the public spirit of the Transylvanian magnates :—

"Je voudrais que les ennemis ardents des aristocraties pussent étudier ce pays-ci avec un esprit libre.

Ils reviendraient certainement de leurs préventions injustes. Chez un peuple généreux et intelligent, il est naturel que la devise fameuse, *Noblesse oblige*, ait été adoptée par les classes supérieures. La Hongrie et la Transylvanie, soumises à des princes étrangers et souvent hostiles, doivent s'estimer heureuses de posséder une aristocratie qui remplisse les devoirs d'un gouvernement bienveillant. C'est la noblesse transylvaine qui a fondé les écoles et les colléges : c'est elle qui a créé les seules bibliothèques publiques du pays, à Carlsbourg, à Hermannstadt, a Vásárhely."

Nor was such patriotic liberality displayed only in Transylvania. The National Museum owes its origin to the munificence of Count Francis Széchenyi, the father of the still more celebrated Stephen, who in his turn gave one year's income—60,000 florins—to the Hungarian Academy.

Indeed the liberality of all classes of Hungarian society in responding to any demand made upon their purses, in the name of patriotism, is certainly one of the most favourable features of the national character. It is only by such patriotic liberality that the "National" Theatre was started and maintained for so many years, without any encouragement from the Government or the Crown. It is only since the reconciliation of 1867 that the Hungarian King has himself contributed towards its support. The collection of six hundred thousand florins to build the "Palace

of the Academy" was, perhaps, a still stronger proof of patriotic liberality on the part of Hungarian society, as it was collected when their country was suffering from high taxation and the neglect of its interests by which M. Schmerling punished them for their refusal to enter his Reichsrath.

I have more than once had occasion to allude to the social feud prevailing between the magnates and the squires. I should here observe that the presence or absence of magnate titles does not decide to which party an individual belongs. There are several untitled families in Hungary, whose wealth and descent secure them an entrance, on a footing of perfect equality, into magnate circles. On the other hand, in many a country village the squire may bear the title of count or baron, who is yet in sentiments, manners, and social position, in no way different to the other *táblabírák* of the county. Some of these titled squires do not go to court from family traditions inherited from the time of the *kuruczvilág*, or "insurgent world," as the Hungarians call the period of the religious wars of the seventeenth century. Many more are kept at home by their financial circumstances, who are nevertheless by birth the equals of those who frequent the *levées* of the Burg at Vienna. I myself found that these country squires with magnate titles were by no means unanimous in their political opinions. There are men amongst them who are as high aristocrats as Count

Apponyi, or Count Szécsen, while others are as revolutionary in their sentiments as MM. Madarász and Böszörményi.

What is described in *La Gaviota* as taking place in Spain, takes place in Hungary also. The progress of civilization is supposed to be marked by the relinquishment on the part of the ladies of the national costume, and adoption of every ungraceful novelty. Then again, just as in Seville so in Pest, they assure you that the national dance is vulgar, improper; they would not dance it themselves on any account; or, even if they do so far comply with the *betyár* fashion of the day, it is *contre cœur*.

What, however, might astonish Fernan Caballero is to find this cosmopolitan civilization associated with Catholicism and devotion to the powers that be, while national prejudices and conservative "barbarism" affect Calvinism, and, if not rebellion against the sovereign, at any rate opposition to his ministers. The brothers of those young ladies who express the greatest contempt for the *csárdás* are very likely receiving their education in a Jesuit college in Austria.

Mr. Paget* says:—"In Transylvania, I never heard a lady insulted by an apology for speaking in her presence of subjects which interested her husband, father, or brother." Now-a-days, however, the fair

* *Hungary and Transylvania*, vol. ii. p. 430.

cosmopolites hasten to assure you that they consider politics a subject wholly unsuited for the conversation or consideration of women, and that they neither know nor care anything about them. Indeed, just as Hungary is the country of all others in which politics have the greatest influence on daily life, and are the most general topic of conversation, so nowhere else, perhaps, can persons be met with who have so great a horror of political talk as inspires the unpolitical minority of Hungarian society. It is a very natural reaction against the terrible tyranny exercised by political interests, absorbing, or, at least, casting into the shade, all other elements of culture. A lady once declared to me that she wished she lived in Switzerland, because there nobody talked about politics. I do not guarantee the accuracy of her statement as to Switzerland, about which country she, of course, knew much less than any ordinary untravelled Englishwoman, but that was the reason she assigned. Her husband, however, was a Croat by race, and by profession a pensioned military officer, so they might have been expected to be *schwarzgelb*, "black yellow," *i. e.* Austrian.

But affectations of all kinds mark the steady eastward march of Parisian civilization. I remember once hearing the wife of an old *kurucz táblabíró* observing that now-a-days children were treated as amusing toys. Her married daughter, speaking of

the education she meant to give her infant daughter, said that she must above all things learn French, and expressed a regret that she herself had not been taught that language. I do not think that I do her any injustice when I say that her only reason was that countesses and baronesses knew that language. The life the family led was in that genuine old Hungarian style, patriarchal and unconstrained, in which there is nothing to remind you of the *teketoriás világ*, or "ceremonious world" beyond the Leitha. There was, therefore, nothing extraordinary in the fact that a sort of farm-bailiff, in coarse clothes, which bore marks of hard work, sat at the bottom of the table. The lower you go in the social scale, the more patriotism, reasonable or unreasonable, do you find. So the farm-bailiff ventured to remonstrate in a respectful manner with the *tekintetes asszony*, "the worshipful lady," and said that, if Hungarian literature continued to advance as it had done, by the time the young lady grew up she would not need to learn French, as she would find plenty of novels written in her own language.

But snobbishness is a failing natural to all aristocratic countries. Among the words, the thorough comprehension of which would be equivalent to a complete acquaintance with Hungarian life, we must include *fertály-mágnás*, or *buga-mágnás*, "quarter-magnate," or "short-horn magnate." He is an impor-

tant figure in novels, dramas, and other pictures of society. The nearest English equivalent is "tuft-hunter," but of course the two words do not always coincide in meaning. In Hungary—as in all other aristocratic countries—there are to be found members of the lower ranks of the aristocracy who are always striving to raise themselves into a higher grade, or at any rate to pass themselves off as something more than they really are. Pest abounds with that variety of the human species which the Germans have called *Pflastertreter*. Such a Hungarian "dandy" is often designated by that English word; he is otherwise known as *flamingo* or *árszlán*. This last word is the Turkish name for a lion; from which the Hungarian name for that animal, *oroszlány*, is evidently derived. It is not without reason that these people are called by an English name. Anglo-mania is in Hungary a mark of *haut ton*, on the part both of real magnates and their would-be imitators. Thus, not content with the introduction of the eminently British institutions of horse-racing and fox-hunting, some magnates have recently gone to Africa to shoot lions. Of another Count the wags of Pest say that when his servant was asked, after their return from England, if he had seen Englishmen, answered, "I have seen many English, but not one so English as my master."

All these aristocratic excrescences of society have a connection with, and receive a recognition from,

literature; indeed, are treated with a consideration which they would not obtain in an older country. For instance, the establishment of a sporting newspaper was regarded as a matter of almost national interest, and its editor, in consideration of the services he thus rendered to the literature of his country, was made a member of the Hungarian Academy. In a similar spirit to subscribe to a journal of fashions, written in the Hungarian language, is spoken of as an act of patriotism. All this seems to us very absurd, but from the standpoint of the Hungarians themselves it is quite intelligible. The most mindless and frivolous of women, even if she have neither husband nor child, has still some influence in society. Why, then, should she be left uncared for by the literary patriots? Why should she be left to perpetuate the traditions of the days when as yet Hungarian journalism was not? Refusing to consider the question—"Of what use are the perfumed *flâneurs* of the Váczi Utcza?"*—it is thought better that they should make their bets in Magyar, rather than in German or French.

The relation between these three languages is curious enough. Under Maria Theresa the higher classes of the Hungarian aristocracy had their children taught German in the nursery. Of the class who go to court German is still their "house-language," the one they most readily use in their most familiar inter-

* The Bond Street or Pall Mall of Pest.

course. But the extreme disaffection against the Viennese Government which pervaded all classes of Hungarians from 1850 to 1866 made German the most unpopular language which could be spoken in public. Consequently, the very magnates, who themselves spoke German in the family circle, learnt to speak Hungarian at a public meeting or in a crowded ball-room. And when they spoke to foreigners they preferred to do so in French. Besides which, German could not be considered an aristocratical language. If it was the favourite speech of the richest magnates, of the leaders of fashionable society, it was also the mother-tongue of every Jewish shop-keeper. "You should learn Hungarian," said a gentleman to me, after I had been but a short time at Pest. He was compelled, by his ignorance of French or English, to converse with me in the detested German. "You should learn Hungarian; every cab-driver in the streets, every waiter in an hotel, speaks German; Hungarian is the only language fit for a gentleman."

This was very well as an utterance of middle-class patriotism, but, like the lady I mentioned above, French is the language to teach which to her daughter is the dream of every Hungarian mother who has the least spark of social ambition. A very common way of parading this accomplishment, when acquired, is to use it in the direction of one's letters. For this, it must be admitted, there is a practical reason. To

address a Hungarian letter properly is almost as complicated a piece of work as to address a German one, and the use of French furnishes a ready mode of escaping it. Many, however, neutralize this advantage by literally translating into French the superfluities of their Hungarian direction, such as *tisztelettel*, "with respect," or *szeretettel*, "with love."

The principal effect of magnate example on education is shown in the importance attached to learning modern languages; but we must, at the same time, admit that they are often studied from worthier motives than mere social ambition. In the first place from necessity. This applies to two distinct classes of foreign tongues. Holland is a small country, but cannot be called a new one; Russia is a new country but by no means a small one; Hungary has the misfortune to be at once a small country and a new one. Holland, in spite of its civilization, is compelled by its diminutive size; Russia, in spite of its vast extent, is compelled by its barbarism, to study diligently and generally the three great literary languages of Europe. Hungary is impelled to the same course by the necessity of Holland combined with the necessity of Russia. To imitate France, Germany, England, to appropriate their civilization, Hungary must converse with them, must visit their capitals, feed itself on their literatures, learn from their science. But besides these three languages of modern civiliza-

tion, there is another class of languages which the Hungarians are more or less forced to acquire. At least five, not to say six or seven, languages are spoken in the country itself—Hungarian, German, Wallachian, Slovack, Croato-Serb or Illyrian, besides Ruthenian, and the Italian of the Adriatic coast. Very few Hungarians know all these home languages, but several know at least three, the third varying according to the part of the country in which they live; in the north, Slovack or Ruthenian; in the south, Servian; in the south-west, Croatian or Slovenian; in Transylvania, Wallachian. When a man has thus learnt four languages, he thinks he may as well learn English as a fifth. After that Italian has claims on his attention, as at once the language of Dante and Petrarch, and of the towns in the Hungarian *littorale.* Having then got into the practice of learning languages, he proceeds to learn others with which he has no immediate concern, such as Spanish, Turkish, and Russian.

This study of modern languages is carried on to an extent most prejudicial to the educational interests of the country. It not only takes up time which might be more profitably spent in real studies, but it also fills the minds of the polyglottists with a notion that the acquisition of languages, if not the whole, forms at least the greater part of education. I met a fairly intelligent young man who had visited London

in 1862, who was struck with the want of education of the English, who actually spoke but one language, and that their own. It is jocosely asserted that in certain circles in Pest "geography" is supposed to be a foreign language, and a great traveller has been asked what "table" was called in geography. If every one felt himself bound to read the literature contained in each several language which he acquired the evil would not be so great. But for many the study of languages has become an end instead of a means. Nor does it discourage sciolism, like the study of Greek and Latin at our own universities, as but few students study any one modern language with sufficient severity and accuracy to get out of it all the mental discipline which it might afford.

Accuracy, indeed, is the last excellence which the Hungarian system of education is likely to foster. *Multa non multum* is its motto. They have taken as their model the system in vogue in Prussia, without having either the material means, the highly educated *personnel*, or the generally diffused zeal for education which are necessary to carry it out with success. The Hungarians, like the English, do not value science for its own sake, but only for the advantages, whether personal, sectarian, or national, which may be obtained from it. This circumstance, combined with the sudden introduction of new systems and new subjects of education among a public all unprepared for them,

has naturally fostered the growth of educational charlatanry. I, myself, have been assured by a professor in a gymnasium that he had discovered a method whereby ancient Greek could be infallibly acquired in three months. This language, I may observe, is very little studied in Hungary. Among the great number of educated persons with whom I came in contact, I very much doubt if five pretended, even to themselves, to have acquired more than the mere elements of the language. Its study was authoritatively introduced by the absolutist Government of Bach. This was quite sufficient to brand it in the opinion of the vast majority of Magyar students as a "German" subject of study. In Hungary everything is patriotic, even the idleness of a schoolboy.

Indeed there is a closer connection between idleness and patriotism than might have been at first sight imagined. The worst effects of revolutions and civil wars are felt many long years afterwards. During the desperate struggle of 1848-49 it was a patriotic duty for a boy to leave school and enter a *honvéd* regiment, of course as a private. I have myself met several persons who have thus served as soldiers, while still mere children, boys of fourteen or fifteen. One who had served as a non-commissioned officer in the Hungarian army, even went so far as to assert that such lads made better recruits than grown men; they had not as yet acquired habits of dissipation.

Such extreme cases, I believe, did not turn out so badly in the end as many others. A boy of fifteen, or even sixteen, could not get people to look upon him as a man in spite of all his campaigning, so he submitted to destiny, public opinion, and parental authority, and went back to his desk and his books. But he, who at seventeen or eighteen had once exchanged the monotonous discipline of education for the licence and adventure of war, was very inapt to betake himself to any really useful employment requiring patient industry and self-control. Indeed in many cases no choice was left him on the subject, as the Austrian authorities forced into the ranks of the Imperial Royal Army all who had served as *honvéds*. When in addition to all this we remember that many despairing patriots deliberately deprived their children of the advantages of a liberal education, that they might not be tempted to take office under the German Government, we cannot be surprised at finding in Hungary many persons who have, so to say, fallen through between two systems of education, having received neither the narrow, old-fashioned training of a *táblabíró*, nor the more comprehensive semi-Prussian one at present in vogue.

Most of those engaged in the work of education with whom I conversed, admitted the force of my objections against the system "*non multum sed multa.*" It might be supposed that the Protestants

would have made use of their liberty to proceed on a system of their own, but the necessity of keeping in view the governmental examinations prevents them from diverging very far from that which prevailed in schools more immediately under Government control. These examinations must be passed by all who would qualify themselves for Government offices or to practise as advocates, surgeons, etc. etc But whatever may be the defects attached to the present system of education in Hungary, it would be a very rash conclusion to infer that things were any better before 1848, as I have been assured by more than one *laudator temporis acti*. It is true that it were better to study one subject thoroughly than many imperfectly; but how if, the degree of imperfection being the same, the number of the subjects only be reduced? One thing which militates against the notion that the old native education, though narrow, was thorough, is the expression *bevégzett ember*, "a finished man," then commonly applied to any one who had acquired a professional diploma; which really was generally understood to mean that such an one had no longer any further need of books, as he already knew all that was known of his subject. One assertion made by the eulogists of the old-fashioned schools I can well believe; and that is, that the studies were severely prosecuted, and made unpleasant and laborious to the scholars. Such a system may have taught the better class of students

subjected to it habits of diligence and industry, but could have inspired but few with a love of learning.

The editor of one of the most widely circulated newspapers of Pest, speaking of the difference between Hungary at the present day and before the Revolution, laid especial force upon its former want of concentration. "One part of the country," said he, "neither knew nor cared to know what the rest of it was doing; we certainly were barbarians then." The literary class have had a great deal to do with bringing about the present concentration of national life at Pest. The necessities of journalism require such a national centre from which newspapers issue and to which information flows. In so small a capital, among so small a class, anonymous journalism is impossible. Every man lives and writes under the eyes of his fellows, like an animalcule in a drop of water seen under the microscope. An amusing anecdote illustrative of this point was told me of the editor I have referred to. A young author had written a pamphlet on the faults of the national character, in which he had hauled his countrymen over the coals in a manner unusually severe. The pamphlet was published anonymously, and attracted a great deal of adverse criticism. My friend's journal alone took no notice of it, although the anonymous author himself more than once urged the editor to publish his opinion of it, of course pretending that he had never had any-

thing to do with it beyond reading it. At last my friend lost patience, and told him that he would confide to him the real reason why he could not notice the work, but that it must be kept a profound secret. The promise of secrecy being given, the malicious editor said, "The fact is I wrote it myself." The face of the would-be object of criticism at this unexpected announcement may be more easily imagined than described.

Perhaps nothing more precisely characterizes the peculiar stage of civilization in which the Hungarians are at present than the great importance attached to foreign travel, and the prejudice generally entertained in favour of foreigners belonging to nations acknowledged to be further advanced than themselves—in favour of English, French, and Americans. As a general rule, a Hungarian may be said to despise his neighbours. With him, "'tis distance lends enchantment to the view." He reluctantly and grudgingly acknowledges his inferiority to the German on some points, fondly persuading himself that it is made up, or more than made up, by his superiority on others. In the case of the Italian, he is still more impressed with a sense of his own excellence. As for the rest of his neighbours, Rouman or Slav, the Magyar, in most instances, considers it derogatory to the national dignity to be placed in comparison with them.

One of the most formidable impediments to pro-

gress in Hungary has been the fact that that country has so long been a *cul-de-sac* in respect to civilization. The barbarism of the Turkish Empire, and especially of its Christian rayahs, reacts upon Hungary, and, though less directly, on Vienna also. Some persons may, perhaps, add that such is still the case. But even the least sympathetic and most illiberal of Western travellers must admit that both Servia and Roumania have made considerable progress of late years. It is because their progress is of the greatest importance to Hungary, that every well-wisher to the latter country, or the Austro-Hungarian Empire at large, must desire the speedy development of the railway system in European Turkey. The construction of a few lines of railway connecting Vienna and Pest with Constantinople would tend to put an end to this peninsulation, if I may be allowed so to express myself, of Hungary with regard to progress and civilization. At present, all the railways in that country have their eastern and southern termini situated within the frontiers of the kingdom. Not one of them is continued to its natural commercial goal on the Black Sea or the Ægean.


ETHNOLOGICAL MAP
OF THE
HUNGARIAN KINGDOM
EXCLUSIVE OF
DALMATIA.
TO ILLUSTRATE "THE MAGYARS"
BY ARTHUR J. PATTERSON
PRUSSIA
AUSTRIAN
POLAND
VIENNA
AUSTRIA
STYRIA
CARNIOLA
ISTRIA
CROATIA
SLAVONIA
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
BOSNIA
SERVIA
DALMATIA

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE NATIONALITIES.

Remarkable intermixture of Nationalities in Hungary—Its Inconvenience—The Vicinity of the Capital—St. Stephen's Maxim—Ethnological Areas—Changes of Nationality—Rules and Exceptions—The Census of 1851—Anecdotes—German Hungarians—Saxons of Transylvania—Continental Position—Turkish Wars—The Latin Language—Conservative Regrets—Maria Theresa and Joseph II.

ONE of the peculiar features of Hungary which more especially strikes the traveller from Western Europe, is the existence side by side of several distinct nationalities. It is not that other kingdoms or countries are perfectly homogeneous in race. Our own little island contains at least four well-marked nationalities within its coasts, without counting those of Ireland and the smaller islands which make up the British Archipelago. But one seldom or never finds at home the phenomenon, which is well nigh the rule in Hungary, that in almost every county there should be two or more distinct nationalities, and these not necessarily confined each to its own territory or portion of the

district, but intruding into one another's areas, and so closely mingled together, that it is impossible to make an ethnological map of the country which shall give more than a distant approximation to the truth. For instance, of the fifty-four counties and extra-comitatual districts into which Hungary, exclusive of Transylvania, Croato-Slavonia, and the Military Frontier, is divided, only five, *i.e.* the county of Csongrád and the free districts of Jazygia, Great and Little Cumania, and of the Hajdu towns, are purely Magyar. On the other hand, there are only seven counties which contain no communes of that nationality. In seventeen other counties they form the majority of the population; in two, Vas (*Germ.* Eisenburg) and Sopron (*Germ.* Oedenburg), both on the Austrian-Styrian frontier, they form a moiety; in all the rest the minority. No county or district is purely German, and in eighteen communes of that nationality do not exist. In only one county, Moson (Wieselburg), do they form the majority. In Sopron they form one-half, in Vas one-third, in Pest, Tolna, Baranya, Torontál, and Temes, one-fourth, and in Bács and Zips one-fifth. The Serbs or Raizen are so scattered a population, that in Hungary Proper they form an appreciable fraction in only two counties, *i.e.* a third in Torontál and a fifth in Bács.

Of the inconvenience produced by this confusion of tongues I will give one instance which came under

my own observation. In a town in the south of Hungary I was taken one day by one of the citizens to dine with a friend of his. Of the languages of the country my introducer and myself spoke only German and Hungarian; our host only Hungarian and Servian. There were, besides, at table, two Wallachs from the Military Frontier. Of these one spoke only his mother-tongue, consequently his efforts at social intercourse were restricted to smiling and looking amiable. The other knew both Servian and German, but no Hungarian. It was thus impossible for the whole of our party to enter into general conversation.

The immediate vicinity of the capital will afford us instances of the geographical confusion which prevails. The high road to Eger or Erlau runs through a portion of what must be considered part of the Magyar area, and most of the towns and villages on the way are inhabited by that race. Nevertheless, Kerepes, the very first village on the road, is inhabited by Slovacks, which people occupy a great number of villages scattered over the metropolitan county. Again, the right side of the Danube, from Buda upwards, is lined for a long way by Swabian colonies. The colonists live in some places unmixed with any other population; in others, Magyars are found with them. But at the distance of a few hours' walk from Buda, we find this line of German settlements

interrupted by St. Endré and its surrounding villages, which constitute an isolated Servian colony.

In the *Peleskei Notárius; The Notary of Peleske,* —one of those popular plays which depict Hungarian life, especially that of the lower ranks of society,—the witch, when asked to describe Hungary, answers: "It is a country which is inhabited by all sorts of people, even by Hungarians, where all sorts of languages are spoken, even the Hungarian." This is but too true, and has proved of late years the source of the greatest calamities to the nation. St. Stephen, their first king, seems to have judged otherwise. At any rate, in his advice to his successors, he laid down the principle: "*Unius linguæ, uniusque moris, regnum imbecillum et fragile est;*" a maxim which bears a suspicious likeness to the well-known *Divide et impera.*

In spite, however, of the confusion which we have described, we may, with accuracy sufficient for our purpose, set down the areas of the more important races as follows:—The slopes of the north-western Carpathians from Presburg on the Danube to the neighbourhood of Unghvár are the habitat of the Slovacks, a tribe belonging to the western division of the great Slavonic race, and akin to the Poles and the Bohemians. The north-eastern corner of the country is in the possession of the Ruthenians or Ruzniaks, another Slavonic tribe, but belonging to the eastern division of the race and akin to the

Russians. As these Ruthenians or Ruzniaks are pressed by the Slovacks on the west, so are they by the Wallachs or Daco-Romans on the south. The latter occupy the whole of Transylvania, whence they have overflowed into all the bordering counties of Hungary. The country lying to the south of the Maros, and known as the Banat, is inhabited pell-mell by four races, Hungarians, Germans, Servians and Wallachs. The Germans are scattered sporadically over the whole country, nowhere occupying districts of any size. They are, however, more than elsewhere, concentrated in the western counties bordering on Styria, in the sub-Carpathian district of the Zips (a German island in the midst of the Slovack area), and in the Saxon-land of Transylvania. There thus remains for the Magyar to call especially his own the whole centre of the country on both sides of the Danube and on both sides of the Theiss.

As this question of the "nationalities" is at once one of the most curious and one of the most important which present themselves to the inquirer into Hungarian history, a few general observations on the subject may not be out of place. Many persons seem to think that some mysterious quality belonging to "race" causes the nations of the west to fuse together, but keeps separate those of the east. This theory is no doubt fascinating to some minds on account of its indefiniteness; I find nothing satisfactory in it unless

it be the confession of ignorance which it involves. In the first place, it may be observed that east and west are merely relative terms. It is impossible to divide the European nations into eastern and western races, except arbitrarily. Next, I would observe (and this is the main point), the phenomena attending the fusion of races are not so very different in Hungary and in Western Europe as is generally supposed. For how many centuries have such small handfuls of men as are the Basques, the Bretons, the Welsh, the Manx maintained each its own separate existence. On the other hand, in Hungary we find many instances of loss, or rather change, of nationality. The Germans have in many, perhaps the majority, of their settlements lost their German character, and become here Magyars, there Slovacks, in a third place Wallachs. There are besides undoubted cases where Magyars have become Slovacks, Ruzniaks, or Wallachs. Again several Slovack communes have become Magyars. It must be borne in mind that I am at present not taking into account individual cases, but only those in which whole parishes, villages, or communes, have gone over from one nationality to another.

These changes, as far as I could learn, have always taken place in conformity with the laws which we should deduce from an *à priori* consideration of the question; these laws being identical with those which we may derive from a study of the history of

nationalities in Great Britain or France. Where a small colony is planted in the midst of a population distinct from the colonists, but *homogeneous in itself*, that colony will melt away insensibly into the surrounding mass. The process will take place with a rapidity proportioned to the degree of equality as to civilization which may exist between the intruders and the race intruded upon. It will also be accelerated if there is much commercial activity in the country, if the roads are good and the population dense, and if no great difference of religious or political feeling prevails between the two populations. Now the foreign colonists, German, Serb, Bulgarian, &c., in Hungary, have generally been planted in the midst of a population not homogeneous in itself. The means of intercommunication have been up to a very recent period very imperfect, the population extremely sparse, and the standard of civilization and education low. Can it be wondered at that the process of assimilation of heterogeneous elements has been slow?

To the general rules just laid down, there is, however, at least one important exception, which must never be lost sight of. It may happen that some special advantages are artificially attached to the maintenance of their nationality on the part of the intruders. Again, it may happen that these advantages act so as to deprive the intruders of their own

nationality, and yet at the same time prevent their absorption by the surrounding population. Of this an apposite instance may be found very near home. The English kings in the Middle Ages planted Flemish colonies in Glamorganshire and Pembrokeshire. These colonies have neither retained their own nationality, nor been absorbed by the surrounding Welsh. They have become English.

Observe that, as I have before stated, we find in Hungary six cases of change of nationality on the *part of the communities*. They are—1. Germans become Magyars; 2. Germans become Slovacks; 3. Germans become Wallachs; 4. Magyars become Slovacks, or Ruzniaks; 5. Magyars become Wallachs; 6. Slovacks become Magyars. I have only heard of these changes. I doubt whether communities of Wallachs have ever lost their nationality. The only instances, as far as I know, of a non-German village becoming German, are afforded by one or two Magyar villages in the midst of a German district of Transylvania. The change was probably effected by the influence of their Lutheran pastors. I consider these facts as proving my position. The Wallach element loses the least by these changes, because it is territorially the most compact. The German element, which is everywhere sporadic, loses the most. The Magyar element is compact on the plains, and there it absorbs the scattered colonies of Slovacks and

Germans. It is sporadic in the hill country, and there it is in turn absorbed by the Slovacks and Wallachs. Superior civilization, thrift, or industry, does not absolutely decide the question between two populations as to which shall absorb the other, for then no German—nor aristocratic pride, for then no Magyar—would have become a Wallach. It is difficult for me to depict the extremity of contempt with which the Wallach in Transylvania is regarded by both Magyar and German as a thriftless loon, a bigot, a coward, and a slave. Nevertheless, a great number of German villages there are completely "wallachized," and the number of wallachized Magyars has been estimated at half a million.

Both my general rule and its principal exception are notably exemplified by the "magyarization" of the Germans in Hungary. The Magyar or Hungarian nationality had formerly the advantage of being both aristocratic and noble, *i. e.* of being the nationality both of the higher aristocracy and of the majority of the freemen. As the distinction between noble and peasant was abolished by the Diet of 1848, it is now only aristocratic. In all languages the name of the country—*Magyarország*, *Ungarn*, *Hungaria*, &c. —expressed the fact or theory that it belonged to that nationality, that it was in some sort their property, that they governed it. When a man became endowed with all the rights of citizenship,

when he had the full franchise conferred upon him, or, as the Hungarians expressed it, when he was "ennobled," he became a nobleman of Hungary. Now all persons might—some did—draw a distinction between the two expressions, "a Hungarian nobleman" and "a nobleman of Hungary." It was, however, a distinction so fine that most people did not recognize it. The consequence was that as a rule—no rule is without an exception—all persons who were nobles, *i. e.* freemen, called themselves Hungarians. I am able to illustrate this by a striking anecdote, which I the more willingly reproduce as I can guarantee its authenticity.

After the revolutionary struggle was over, the centralizing bureaucratic government held a census of the whole population of the empire. It was notorious that among other good results to be effected by it, they hoped that it would show how very few in numbers the Magyars—that disobedient and stiff-necked people — really were. Now none are so tenacious of their nationality as the Wallachs of Transylvania. But when the census was taken of the village of Illeme, in the district of Hátszeg, there presented himself to be set down as a Magyar an old peasant noble. He was one who was neither in dress nor in education a gentleman, but he had inherited the franchise, he was in the Hungarian sense of the word a "noble." So when the old man was asked to what

nationality he belonged, he answered in the Wallachian language that he was "*ungur*." Upon this the officials asked him: "Can you speak Magyar?" He admitted that he could not. "How then," argued the officials, "can you call yourself a Magyar, when you do not even speak the language?" This was probably a new view of the question to the old man; he was, however, determined not to give up the point, so he pleaded that he might still learn it. The officials then asked him, "And what are your wife and children?" "Well," said he, "I for my part am an *ungur*, but if the gentlemen particularly wish it they may write down my wife as *rumun*."

This anecdote reminds me of another, the authenticity of which is equally undoubted. A professor in a Protestant college on the Plain told me the story. I must at the outset observe that the college was a mixed one; that is to say, it did not belong either to the Lutherans or to the Calvinists, but was held in common by both those religious bodies. The Director himself was a Lutheran, and, as such, was of course regarded by the more resolute and decided Calvinists—the "stiff-necked Calvinists," as they are proud to hear themselves called—as addicted to compromises of all sorts. However that may be, the Director received from the Ministry of Vienna an order couched in the most positive terms that the nationality of the scholars was to be entered on the

register of the school, and that on no account was the nationality of any scholar to be set down otherwise than according to his own declaration. Now the town in which this college stood is inhabited almost entirely by the descendants of a Slovack colony settled in comparatively recent times. The Director, with Lutheran prudence kept close to his instructions, asked every scholar to which nationality he belonged, and then entered his answer in the list. The result showed an immense majority of Magyars, so many Germans, so many Wallachs, *and only three Slovacks.* The register was then forwarded to head-quarters, whence it came back with a comment that it was utterly preposterous to suppose that out of a Slovack town, such as —— was, only three of the pupils should belong to that nationality, and with stern and strict injunctions to make the register over again, and this time with such conscientiousness as &c. &c. &c. On receipt of this severe reprimand the Director called all the professors, or as we should say masters, to council, and represented that the responsibility was too great for him to bear alone: he therefore requested the assistance of his whole staff, in whose presence the new register was accordingly made. The parents of the three boys, who had returned themselves as Slovacks, appear to have belonged to that party which the Hungarians are accustomed to stigmatize as "Panslavist," and had of course enjoined their sons,

when questioned about their nationality, to answer in the Slovack language, *Io som Slovinsky*, "I am a Slovack." But in the meantime the boys themselves had been subjected to so much persecution in the playground and the streets from their schoolfellows that, when the second registration took place in full conclave, only one had courage enough to adhere to his previous statement, the two others answering in Hungarian, though with a Slavonic accent, *Én Mágyár vágyok*, "I am a Hungarian." And the masters sent the list, duly signed and sealed, to Vienna, assuring his Excellency that, to their great regret and astonishment, they were unable to find more than *one* Slovack among their pupils.

The great number of Germans, however, who, like the Wallach peasant-noble, call themselves Hungarians without knowing the Hungarian language, cut the nationality-knot in a much simpler manner. "All are Hungarians," say they, "who are born in Hungary; we are born in Hungary, therefore we are Hungarians." Following up this syllogism, they adopt the Hungarian costume, Hungarian political feelings, in short everything Hungarian which they can appropriate. If they do not succeed in mastering the language, at any rate their children learn it betimes: the colony gradually loses the memory of its German origin, and at last believes that it came in with Árpád, the *ækist*, as Mr. Grote would say, of the Hungarian

commonwealth. In the neighbourhood of Gyöngyös, half-way between Pest and Eger (Erlau), there are villages of Germans, who immigrated thither during the reign of Maria Theresa, which are now completely "magyarized." In Szegedin you may observe people in the street who attract your notice by their so exactly answering to your idea of the typical Magyar peasant. When you ask, "What is the name of that *betyár* yonder?" you learn to your surprise that it is Müller or Schmidt. In the census before alluded to this man was inscribed as a German, to which he objected "*Az apám lelke se volt*" ("Not even the soul of my grandfather ever was")—a remonstrance, in many cases, more characterized by force of expression than historical accuracy.

M. de Gérando tells us of such Germans at Presburg, on the very frontiers of Austria, and distant but a very few hours from Vienna. Two porters were removing his luggage from the boat to the quay. In doing so they jostled one another. "Have a care, German!" exclaimed one of them, speaking Hungarian, but with a decidedly Teutonic accent. "German yourself!" was the indignant retort in the same language, but with the same faulty pronunciation.

But when the German colonist has not got so far in the process of magyarization as to have adopted the Magyar language for his mother-tongue, he, nevertheless, considers himself to be a Hungarian.

Hungary is his "Fatherland." The restoration of her constitutional liberty is the goal of his political aspirations. If I may trust my own personal experience, he cursed the Viennese Government with even more bitterness and energy than did those in whose veins runs the pure blood of the Huns. Indeed, one old German colony, that of the Saxons of the Zips, was so notorious for its patriotism,—and in Hungary patriotism and opposition to the Government were synonymous—that a Magyar said to me one day: "If there is any liberal movement going on, you may be sure that a Zipser is not far from being at the head of it." It is to be observed that these Germans always call themselves "*Deutsche Ungarn*" (German Hungarians), but never "*Ungarische Deutschen*" (Hungarian Germans), a distinction which is by no means without a difference. If they had adopted the latter expression, they would have implied that they were Germans, whose good or bad fortune it was to live in Hungary. As it is, they assert that they are Hungarians, as much so as any others can be; that they are citizens of Hungary, but of the German race. They are, in fact, "*Deutsche Ungarn*," just as others are "*Slavische Ungarn*" or "*Wallachische Ungarn*," and others, finally, are "*Stock-Ungarn;*" for of course no one uses such an absurd expression as "*Ungarische Ungarn.*" As I loitered about the streets and quays of Pest during the lovely evenings

of the May of 1862, I often came across twos or threes of German journeymen singing in the German language songs in praise of Hungarian maidens and Hungarian wine, vowing that no country, however great, however rich, could tempt them to desert their dearly-loved Ungarn.*

What I have written thus far about the magyarization of the Germans in Hungary will show that it proceeds according to the law which I stated above. What I called the principal exception to that law is strikingly exemplified by a case where a German colony, or rather a cluster of German colonies, have retained their nationality for centuries. I speak of the so-called Saxons of Transylvania, whose nearer acquaintance I hope we shall make further on. Suffice it here to notice that their nationality was from the first carefully protected by peculiar privileges granted to these *Domini Hospites Hungariæ*, by a separate municipal independence, a separate territory, and at last, when the Reformation came, by a separate ecclesiastical organization. They excluded all persons who were not Saxons from all municipal offices in their towns and villages, and as far as possible from the possession of real property in their territory. According to Dr. Erasmus Schwab, the German burghers in the north of Hungary took similar measures to preserve their nationality, but the strength

* *Mag mein Ungarn nicht vertauschen u. s. w.*

of the German element in that part of the country was broken by the persecutions to which, as Protestants, they were subjected by the bigoted Viennese Government during the so-called Counter-Reformation in the seventeenth century.

But some persons will perhaps object to me that, if the same laws as to the fusion of nationalities operate in Hungary as in France or England, how comes it that the results are so very different. For this I can assign three distinct causes :—first, difference of geographical position ; secondly, recent immigration consequent on the Turkish wars ; and lastly, the political supremacy, up to a late date, of the Latin language. This last cause must not be entirely lost sight of ; but I think that it has not contributed so much as the two others to produce the present Babel-like condition of Hungary and Transylvania.

The geographical position of the Celtic nationalities in France and the British Islands is such as to render their extinction merely a question of time. They occupy isolated points, barren promontories and islands ; are cut off from all communication with one another ; and pressed by powerful, highly civilized nations in the front, have behind them the harvestless wastes of ocean, beyond which stands the Battery of New York, over whose gates might be inscribed, "All nationality abandon ye who enter here." Whereas, of the six nationalities of Hungary

—namely, the Magyar or Hungarian proper, the German, the Wallach or Rouman, the Slovack or North-Western Slavonian, the Ruthenian or North-Eastern Slavonian, and the South Slavonian — the first is the only one which is not represented on both sides of the frontier. The most Eastern German colonists, the Saxons of Transylvania, keep up constant intercourse with the "great Motherland," as they call it. The Wallachs of Transylvania are conterminous with the Wallachs of the Danubian Principalities. The Slovacks, in like manner, border immediately on the Poles of Gallicia and the Tchekhs of Moravia, whose languages differ but dialectically from theirs. The Ruzniaks, or Ruthenians, otherwise called Little Russians, are found on both sides of North-Eastern Carpathians, and extend continuously through Poland into Russia. On both sides of the frontier line between the Austrian and Ottoman empires, live identical populations, in some places Croats, in others Serbs. It has been said that rivers do not divide distinct races, but chains of mountains do. In the case of Hungary, neither rivers nor mountains constitute ethnological frontiers. Where we can draw any geographical line at all between the areas of the different races, it is that which marks off the higher mountains from the plains—the lower hills belonging in some cases to the mountain population, in others to that of the plain.

But another cause which has produced the close and perplexing intermixture, village-wise, of the nationalities with one another, is an effect of the occupation of the country by the Turks. Their barbarous devastations had especially afflicted the most fertile and accessible part of the land, the Great Plain which the Magyars had chosen as their own peculiar portion. After the Turks were expelled, colonists were called in, partly by the Government, partly by the great landholders, to cultivate the wasted fields, to rebuild the towns and villages which those barbarians had so often burned, and at last left desolate without inhabitants. Of these colonists some came from the mountainous parts of Hungary which form the Slovack area; some were fugitive *rayahs* from the Turkish provinces; still more came in from Germany, teeming Germany, now, as of old, the mother of nations which are *not* called after her name. As I said before, many of these colonies have been absorbed; but the date of their colonization has been too recent to allow of this being the case with all of them.

Lastly, we may take into consideration the peculiar position and history of the Latin language in Hungary. Throughout all the kingdoms of Western Christendom this language was during the Middle Ages that of theology, science, law, diplomacy, poetry, nay even of popular satire and popular devotion. Hungary was no exception to this rule. But

when the Middle Ages came to an end, and in other lands the vernaculars assumed their present position as recognized literary and diplomatic languages, what was the condition of that unfortunate country? One portion was subject to a Mohammedan despot, another acknowledged the sway of a foreigner, a German; and only a small remnant rejoiced in a native sovereign, the Prince of Transylvania, whose occasional acts of independence and vigour but imperfectly veiled his degrading vassalage to the Sultan. After a struggle of a century and a half the German became sovereign over the whole country. In what language was he to carry on its government? He would not learn Hungarian. His subjects would not recognize German. The only remaining course was that both parties should accept as a compromise the continuance of the mediæval Latin. In that language the Hungarian Diet deliberated; in that language the laws were drawn up and published; in that language was conducted the official correspondence between the Hungarian Chancery at Vienna and the Government boards at Buda, and between these boards and the municipal authorities. In the county assemblies the supremacy of Latin was not so absolute. Where the assembly was composed entirely of Magyars, they for the most part used their own tongue for the purposes of deliberation. This was more especially the case where Protestantism prevailed. Where, on the other hand,

a large portion of the "nobles" or freeholders belonged to the other nationalities, Latin was exclusively used. Such was the case in Hungary and Croatia. In Transylvania, it is true, the Diet has always deliberated in Magyar, but Transylvania was small, was poor, was distant, and at the best was but a satellite of Hungary. In those days that detestable word "nationality," the source of so many evils, at whose sound the wisest Hungarian patriots now shudder, was unknown. Men quarrelled in those days about religion, war, taxation, foreign officials, foreign mercenaries, etc., but it never occurred to them to quarrel about language. How, indeed, could they, when every dialect which any party might call its own, bowed beneath the easy yoke, the acknowledged supremacy of the neutral and impartial Latin? Every man who aspired to control the administration of the country, nay even of his own municipality, learned it. In some parts of Hungary it was adopted by the peasantry as a means of communicating with those of their neighbours, whose mother-tongue was other than theirs. Nor could the ladies do otherwise than have some knowledge of the language in which their fathers and husbands transacted business. In short, although not every one who knew Latin could be called educated, every one who had any pretence to education knew Latin. Traces of this state of things were visible down to a very recent date, and are even now not

quite obliterated. A countess will now and then surprise you with an apposite Latin proverb of Hungarian manufacture, Old-fashioned Conservatives will express to you their conviction that the youth of the present day are "no use," for that they cannot speak Latin. Country squires interlard their Magyar with extraordinary words, transplanted bodily without the least alteration out of one language into the other. For instance, I have heard a Transylvanian magistrate censured as "*impertinentia crudelis*," an expression more striking than classical. Not many years ago, within the memory of men now in middle life, the county gentry in some of the north-western counties used to talk in four languages at once, mixing up in the same sentence Hungarian, Latin, Slovack and German. When, for example, one met an acquaintance at the quarterly sessions of the county assembly, he would address him thus: "*Alászszolgája, domine spectabilis; ako ye prišli na forspontu, oder mit eigener Gelegenheit?*" ("Your most humble servant, honoured sir; did you come with post-horses, or in your own carriage?") Even now in the streets of Pest one tradesman's wife may be heard addressing another with the ungrammatical salutation "Servus."

Many of the Hungarian Conservatives, not understanding that "the process of the suns," while removing old evils, necessarily engenders new ones, look back upon the period of the Latin supremacy as a

golden age. To the disuse of that language they ascribe all the horrors of civil and servile war, which wasted their beautiful country and swept away their time-honoured constitution. Of course such an artificial state of things as was implied by the continued use of a language long since obsolete could not have lasted for ever. The curious part of the history is that the shock which ultimately destroyed it came primarily not from within but without. Two sovereigns of the house of Habsburg were the originators of this nationality-fever, which now so hampers and harasses their successor. The Empress-Queen, Maria Theresa, conceived the idea that it would be greatly to the advantage of her government if she could fuse the various nations of her polyglott empire into one; in other words germanize them. As of all the non-German elements the Hungarian was the most important, as regarded wealth, political spirit, and historical traditions, she made especial efforts to effect its absorption. If once the proud Magyar could be prevailed upon to forget his national language, a speedy extinction might be predicted for the dialects of the Croats, Serbs, Slovacks, Ruzniaks and Wallachs of her dominions, fragments of nations as they were, rather than nations.

Another motive which doubtless led her to select the Hungarians especially for germanization was gratitude. This queen, who lived long enough to

become one of the partitioners of Poland, had been at the very beginning of her reign threatened with the partition of her dominions by a powerful coalition of her neighbours. She had thrown herself for protection upon the well-known loyalty of her Hungarian subjects. They had answered with the cry, which has since become proverbial, "*vitam et sanguinem pro rege nostro Maria Theresia.*" Their devoted zeal and the success of their arms saved the dynasty. Such services required as great a recompence. In the eyes of Maria Theresa, next to bringing her subjects, of whom so many (alas!) were Protestants and Greeks, into the fold of the true church, the greatest advantage she could extend to them was the boon of German civilization. Whether suggested by profound policy or by feminine instinct, the measures which she took to gain her ends were the very ones best calculated to succeed with such a people as she had to deal with. Among the weak points of the Magyar's character must be reckoned that of being peculiarly open to flattery; nor is he averse to display, or insensible to the charms of beauty. The queen continually flattered the pride of her Hungarian subjects, publicly attributed the preservation of her crowns to their fidelity and their valour; invited their aristocracy to her court, and, when there, heaped upon them offices and honours. She further advanced her plans by the institution of a noble guard, every member of which was a Hungarian

nemes ember, or "nobleman." This guard was rendered more popular by being made a sort of representative body. Every county had the right of electing two guardsmen, and, as each member retired after five years' service, his own county filled up the vacancy by electing his successor. Military command, embassies at distant courts, German and Bohemian wives, were all furnished in abundance by the imperial Circe, and all contributed to denationalize the magnates subjected to her influence. Nor was time wanting to her. Her brilliant and popular reign extended through forty long years. It is the opinion of many that if she had been succeeded by a woman, young, beautiful, and talented as herself, the nineteenth century would never have been excited by Magyar heroism, nor disturbed by debates about the Hungarian constitution.

Her son and successor, Joseph II., was, in most respects, a complete antithesis to his mother. While she was a Catholic, zealous even to persecution, he was an admirer of the royal philosopher of Sans Souci, and was suspected, not without probability, of being initiated into the mysteries of the Illuminati. She, by intimidation and bribery, had induced countless congregations of Greeks to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope; he, by his famous Edict of Toleration, restored at least one-third of these converts to the ranks of the Orthodox Communion. Instead of acting with that exquisite tact which enabled her

to preserve her popularity with the privileged classes at the very time that she was undermining the institutions to which they were fanatically attached, he openly proclaimed his intentions of sweeping those institutions away. A childless widower, philanthropy was his passion; and in the accomplishment of his designs he acted upon the maxim that, "for doing what you have to do no time is so good as the present." Stung with the consciousness that he had lost the best and largest portion of his life in a subordinate and comparatively useless situation, he determined to lose not a single day, no, not an hour, now that he was at last sovereign. He legislated with the desperate haste of one whose presentiments told him truly that death would cut him off ere his task was finished. Edicts, decrees, ordinances, regulations, followed one another in rapid succession. Not one of them but made him enemies; not one of them but was detrimental to the interests or revolting to the feelings of some class or other. After ten years of morbid activity, he died of a broken heart and a fever caught amid the marshes of the lower Danube. Foreign enemies and domestic treason combined to crush him. England and Holland, Prussia and Sweden, formed a coalition against him. His Belgian provinces were in open rebellion. Hungary was on the point of following their example. As soon as his last illness confined him to his bed, that country

openly defied his authority, and, when the news of his death arrived, manifested its satisfaction by bonfires and illuminations.

Of all Joseph's measures there was, perhaps, none which provoked so much hostility as his determination to substitute German for Latin as the language in which the administration of Hungary was to be carried on. This reform shared the fate of Joseph's other innovating measures during the national and aristocratic reaction which followed his decease. But after such a storm of agitation the country could not settle down into the barbarous apathy in which it had slumbered during the reign of Maria Theresa. After all, the man "whose profession it was to be a king" had at least some show of reason on his side when he laid it down as a principle that in these modern days the administration of no country could be carried on in a dead language. Other nations had their own national languages, which at once inspired and expressed the wants and sentiments of their national life. How came it that Hungary was an exception to this rule?

Such were the reflections which Joseph's violent measures of reform forced upon an enlightened minority of the Hungarian people. They formed themselves into a little band of literary patriots, who amidst the derision of the world, the apathy of their own countrymen, and a certain amount of hesitating

persecution on the part of the Government, succeeded in creating for Hungary a modern literature. But in awakening in the breasts of the Magyars an enthusiasm for the "national" language, they were not able always to confine that feeling within due limits. As the encroachments of German had awakened the susceptibilities of the Magyars, so did the encroachments of Hungarian awaken those of the Croats and the Slovacks. Enthusiasm encountered enthusiasm, until Slav poets, emulating the *Inferno* of Dante, consigned their Magyar and German fellow-citizens to eternal torments, and a Lutheran pastor headed a band of robbers to harry fellow-Protestants in the interests of Russian despotism and Ultramontane bigotry.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE NATIONALITIES—Continued.

The Future of the Nationalities—Influence of Prosperity—Of Democracy—Supposed mutual Animosity—Nationalities and Churches—Lutherans—Magyarization of Germans—Three Classes of German Colonists—The "Hungarian Religion"—Ruthenians—Serbs—Wallachs—The German Nationality in Austria—The "Nationality Fever"—A Democratic Movement—Conditions of Magyar Supremacy—The Magyar and German Languages—Statistics.

THE preceding chapter was written some years ago, before my last visit to Hungary. The importance of the phenomenon of which it treats may perhaps serve as my justification for devoting another chapter to its consideration, in which I shall attempt to treat the subject somewhat more in detail.

The question which above all others must occur to any Englishman who reflects on the subject is: "What will be the end of the present confusion of nationalities in Eastern Europe?" As far as Hungary is concerned, only three solutions are possible: either the Magyar nationality will absorb the rest, or the whole country will become either German or Slav.

In making this assertion I am aware that many persons in that country are of a different opinion. They think that the thing which has been will be, that the Magyar, Slovack, and the Rouman will continue to live side by side, the only improvement being that they will dwell together in peace and brotherly kindness, on a footing of perfect national equality. It seems to me, however, that the tendency of all modern changes, the spread of education and internal commerce, the increased facilities of intercommunication and a higher development of political life, will cause every country to become homogeneous in language and national sentiment. There can be no reasonable doubt that the great step made in 1848 towards the democratization of the constitution has already had that effect, although but partially. In the Southern States of America the system of slavery artificially propagated and protected the negro race, so it is said that in Hungary the quasi-feudal system, under which the peasantry lived before 1848, protected and preserved the lesser nationalities. Before that eventful year the State and the peasantry had comparatively little interest in one another. A large proportion of them are now, under the reformed constitution, electors; it is therefore of the highest importance to the State that they should be so educated as to make a right use of their political privileges. As the State is at present under Magyar

guidance, the Magyar language will be one of the subjects taught in all State schools. As the Magyar language is the only one allowed to be used in the debates of the Diet, all persons of ambitious dispositions will make a point of making that language their own; the less ambitious classes will gradually follow their example. That so little progress has been hitherto made in the magyarization of the country is to be attributed to the patronage, direct or indirect, of the lesser nationalities by the Viennese Government, which, if it could not germanize its Hungarian subjects, at any rate determined not to allow them to become magyarized. That patronage has now ceased, and for ever.

Before 1848 the only "political nation" was the so-called "nobility." This "nobility" included that class which we call the gentry. As a natural consequence the gentry all over Hungary, even in those districts which were exclusively inhabited by Slovacks, Ruzniaks, or Roumans, were always Magyar in feeling; and could generally, though not universally, speak the Magyar language. Their family names, be it observed, often proved their Slavonic descent. In fact they were in exactly the same position as the gentry in Wales, whose house-language is English, although many of them can converse with their dependants in Welsh. Under the present democratic constitution the same reasons which made the "nobility" Magyar in feeling will now influence the

whole mass of the people. Indeed, as it is, the Slovacks are for the most part well disposed to the Hungarian cause. A Slovack peasant who cannot talk Hungarian himself is yet proud of his son's ability to do so. The main obstacles which impede the magyarization of the Slovack districts are of a passive rather than of an active nature. They are, in fact, the poverty of the soil, the consequent poverty of the inhabitants, and their want of education. These evils the Hungarian Government must remove, or at least mitigate, by making railways, improving the country and communal roads, and by establishing a national system of education, which will tend to equalize the material and mental condition of the more and less favoured portions of the country.

It is very generally supposed by persons imperfectly acquainted with Hungary, that a great deal of ill-will and bad feeling subsists between the peasantry belonging to these different nationalities. As far as I have observed, this opinion, if not entirely unfounded, is certainly extremely exaggerated. Our attention is naturally directed to abnormal periods of violence and civil war, such as 1848-49, when a few armed insurgents in the pay of a hostile Government made a figure out of all proportion to their actual numbers. At the same time the Viennese Government, and the newspapers which served as its organs, sought to impress upon us that Hungary was a chaos which

only martial law and German schoolmasters could bring into any semblance of order.

As far as the relations between Magyar and Slovack are concerned, they seem to me exactly analogous to those of the English and Welsh. The same might be asserted of the relations between Magyar and Ruthenian. In the case of Magyar and Wallach the relations appear somewhat more strained, yet I often in my travels came upon circumstances that indicated that the ill-feeling between them, of which we read so much in newspapers, exists rather in the imaginations of editors and demagogues than in actual life.

I was once staying at a country gentleman's house in the upper or eastern part of the county of Bihar, and asked my host about the alleged existence of bad feeling between the Magyar and Wallach peasantry. He ridiculed the idea, and said that there would be no war of races in the country unless, indeed, the Austrian Government took particular pains to excite one, which would be a difficult thing to do. I may mention that, in that part of the country, the villages in the mountains are inhabited by Wallachs, but those in the valleys are occupied by the two nationalities in common. The difference of race is in this case intensified by a difference in religion, Magyars being for the most part Protestants, a minority professing Roman Catholicism, whereas all the Wallachs belong to the Greek Church.

This brings me to another interesting side of the "nationality question"—its connection with differences of religion. It is a remarkable fact connected with the history of Protestantism, that all its converts were made within the pale of "Latin Christianity." The Greek Church maintained an attitude of indifferent neutrality during the struggle between the adherents of the Reformation and the partisans of Papal supremacy. Of the nationalities of Hungary, three belonged to Latin Christendom, viz. the Magyars, the Slovacks, and the Germans. Amongst all these three the doctrines of the Reformation found some degree of acceptance. At that period the greater number of German colonies were situated in the north of Hungary, in those districts in which the Slovacks formed, as they do now, the overwhelming majority of the population. Indeed, all the towns of that part of the country have a German origin. These burghers embraced with municipal unanimity the doctrines of Luther, and from these centres those doctrines were diffused among the Slovack peasantry. About one-half of this latter nationality are at present Lutherans, the rest having adhered to the old church. There is a certain amount of difference observable between the attitudes taken up by these two parties respectively towards the Hungarians. All anti-Hungarian movements among the Slovacks have been headed by Lutheran pastors. Of the Slovack colonies in the

Great Plain, *i. e.* in the Magyar area, those which are Roman Catholic are much sooner magyarized than those which are Lutheran. Two causes may be assigned for this diversity. In the first place, under the aristocratic constitution before 1848, the Roman Catholic priest was *ex officio* a "nobleman," *i. e.* possessed of the political franchise, which was not necessarily the case with the Lutheran pastors. A more important and effective cause is to be found in the nature of Protestantism, which everywhere fosters and cultivates the vernacular dialects, on the principle of carrying on divine service in a language generally understood by the people. The preservation of the isolated Romansch in the Grisons is a remarkable instance in point. This attachment of the Lutheran pastors to the cause of Slovack nationality, has thrown them into what at first sight certainly seems an unnatural alliance with orthodox, holy Russia.

As I mentioned in the preceding chapter, the German colonies in Hungary are scattered all over the country, either singly or in small groups. This circumstance in itself is quite sufficient to account for the rapidity with which they lose their German character, and become, as the case may be, magyarized, slovackized, or wallachized. There is, however, an additional circumstance which tends to make them exchange their original nationality for the Magyar

rather than any other. They are, on the whole, superior to the other nationalities in diffused intelligence and material prosperity. They are thus enabled to take an intelligent survey of their own position, and to perceive clearly the means of advancing their own interests. Raised above the narrower and obscurer conceptions of national and confessional prejudices, they clearly perceive the fact that in Hungary it is above all things advantageous for a man to be a Hungarian. Consequently, both the burghers of Pest, Buda, and other towns containing a German *bourgeoisie*, and the well-to-do Swabian peasantry of the Banat, apply themselves zealously to the work of magyarizing their children. Magyar nurses and maids-of-all-work are at a premium, and the children are often sent, about the age of ten or twelve, to spend a couple of years in some Magyar village. In this respect there is no difference between the Lutheran and Roman Catholic Germans.

There are, so to say, three strata of German colonists in Hungary. The first consists of the immigrants of the mediæval, or pre-Reformation, period. These are generally known in Hungary by the name of Saxons, and came from Middle Germany. They are also for the most part Lutherans. They were settled in Buda, Pest, the sub-Carpathian districts from Pressburg to Szatmár, and in Transylvania. After the Turks were expelled from Hungary in the end of

the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, a great number of Roman Catholic colonists from South Germany were planted by the Austrian Government in the districts which the tyranny and misrule of those ferocious and ignorant barbarians had laid waste,—in Pannonia, on the Great Plain, and in the Banat. As the first class of colonists consist for the most part of burghers, so does the second of thriving peasants. The third wave of German colonization dates from the beginning of the present century, and is essentially different from either of its predecessors. The colonists of the first and second period came, in consequence of the express invitation of kings, bishops, chapters, and large landed proprietors, so to say, *commune*-wise. The third class of German immigrants come into Hungary as isolated individuals, or at most in single families, and settle wherever they can find employment for their industrious hands, as they very seldom bring any other property along with them. They consequently possess the *minimum* of national pride, and, if chance conduct them to places where there are no previous German immigrants, they are rapidly denationalized. All these three classes of German settlers are on the whole a source rather of strength than of weakness to the Hungarian cause, as they are more readily magyarized than any of the nationalities settled in the country before the arrival of the Hungarians.

The Magyars themselves profess three forms of Christianity.* The majority of them, more than three-fifths, belong to the Roman Catholic Church; of the remainder by far the greater part are Calvinists, or, to speak more accurately, Evangelicals of the Helvetic Confession. The number of these Calvinists is about 1,800,000. Although there are many Magyars who are not Calvinists, there are scarcely any Calvinists in Hungary who do not belong to that nationality. The ideas of Magyarism and Calvinism are so intimately associated in the Hungarian mind, that that form of Christianity is generally spoken of as *a magyar vallás*, "the Hungarian religion," while Catholicism is often called *a német vallás*, "the German religion." As I have said, all non-Magyar Protestants in Hungary are, with very trifling exceptions, Lutherans. The converse, however, does not hold good. A respectable number of Magyars are Lutherans, or, to use the official nomenclature, Evangelicals of the Augustan Confession.

Having, however briefly, considered the case of the three nationalities which belong to Latin Christendom, we pass on to the three which adhere to the Oriental, or Greek Church. Taking them in their geographical order from north-east to south-west,

* The Socinian or Unitarian Magyars of Transylvania are only 40,000 souls. The case of the United Greeks, who speak Magyar, is explained in a later paragraph of this chapter.

they are the Ruthenians or Little Russians, the Wallachs or Daco-Romans, and the Serbs.

The Ruthenians in Hungary belonged to the Orthodox, *i.e.* non-United Greek Church. About the year 1652, however, they accepted the terms of the so-called "Holy Union," agreed upon at the Council of Florence. These United Greeks are more commonly called "Greek Catholics," officially "Catholics of the Greek Rite." The number of the Ruthenians in Hungary are variously given as 424,263 and 381,986. They are, at all events, under half a million. In the whole Austrian Empire they amount to more than 2,500,000. The Hungarian peasant calls them *Orosz*, "Russ;" the Russians of the Russian Empire he distinguishes as *Muszka*, "Muscovite." Of the six principal nationalities of Hungary, the Ruthenians are the least important. The greater part of the territory occupied by them consists of forests and high mountains. They are deficient in wealth, intelligence, and ambition. In the plains their villages are more or less magyarized, and in many of their villages, although the liturgy is performed in the Old Slavonic, the "pope" preaches in Hungarian.

Although, as we have seen above, the great mass of the Magyars are either Protestants or Roman Catholics of the Latin rite, there are a number of persons speaking for the most part no other language than Magyar, and professing to belong to that nation-

ality, who are nevertheless Catholics of the Greek rite. In 1840 their numbers amounted, according to the Hungarian statistician Fényes, to 115,099, of whom at least 100,000 lived in the districts forming the Ruthenian area or conterminous with it. Their geographical position renders it at least probable that they are magyarized Ruthenians. But the theory which is popular in Hungary represents them as the descendants of the first Magyar Christians, converted by missionaries from Byzantium before King Stephen imposed Roman Catholicism upon his subjects. A movement is at present being made to separate these Greek Catholics from their Ruthenian and Wallach co-religionists, to form them into a new diocese, and to provide them with a liturgy in the Magyar language. The two Oriental churches are more favourable to the preservation of national distinctions than the Roman Catholic, although they do not develop them to the same extent as Protestantism.

Their south Slavonic brethren, the Serbs, have for the most part remained firm in the profession of "Orthodoxy," and rejected all the advances of the Pope. Maria Theresa, in her zeal for Catholicism, succeeded by dint of severe persecution in inducing many of them to exchange the religion of their forefathers for that of their sovereign. No sooner, however, had her son, Joseph II., proclaimed the principle

of religious toleration, than they all went back to Orthodoxy. Such of their number as have permanently submitted to the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome have at the same time discarded all Greek rites, and become as strictly Latins as any people of Western Europe. These Serbs of the Latin rite are regarded as a separate nationality, and called Schokazen or Bunyovazen. A strong feeling of enmity prevails between these apostates and the Orthodox Serbs, who are generally known in Hungary as Raizen. In those counties of the south in which most of the Serb colonists are settled, the Hungarians, although themselves in a very small numerical minority, can carry the elections in most districts against the Raizen by means of the Swabians and Bunyovazen. The existence of this feud between men of the same blood shows that the distinction of nationalities in Hungary was not a zoological one; at any rate not altogether such. The continuance of this feud at the present day seems to me a proof that the modern idea of "nationality" comes from above, and not from below, has its origin among the educated, or half-educated, few, and not among the uneducated many.

Serb colonists were to be found a hundred or even fifty years ago in many parts of Hungary from which they have by this time disappeared. Indeed, it seems as if the whole Serb population north of the

Drave and of the Lower Danube were in process of rapid extinction. Immorality, luxury, and indolence are the alleged causes of their extinction. Sometimes these Serb communities die out family by family ; in other cases, reduced to poverty by laziness and improvidence, the Serb is obliged to sell his fields to the encroaching Swabian, and migrates to the Military Frontier.

Many of their number, when they came into Hungary out of the Turkish Empire, brought with them their treasures, or were engaged in trade and commerce, and liberally endowed churches, schools, and almshouses for their co-religionists. As these endowments were originally made for the benefit of communities which have dwindled down to an insignificant number, there are few churches or schools in Hungary which are so rich in proportion to the numbers of those who use them as the Orthodox Serb foundations in such cities as Buda, Miskolcz, &c. For instance, Miskolcz is a town of about 27,000 inhabitants, of whom only 200 belong to the Orthodox Communion, yet their church is the finest in the place. A great deal of these endowments seem to be spent in eating, drinking, and merrymaking.

One of the causes which have led to the downfall and extinction of these mercantile colonies, has been the great increase during the last half century of the Jewish population of Hungary. Even now a trades-

man is called in many parts of the country *görög*, a "Greek," the name generally given to such Serbs and Wallachs, settled in the towns, belonging, as they did, to the Orthodox Greek Church. One peasant driver might often be heard asking another who his fare was, and receiving the answer, "I am taking a Jew to be the Greek in such and such a village."

The Serbs are accused by their more or less hostile neighbours, the Magyars and Germans, of sensuality, sloth, treachery, and cruelty; but no one has ventured to accuse them of cowardice. From some reason or other the Magyar lives on better terms with his Slav and German neighbours, than these do with each other. In the south of Hungary, where Serb, Schwab, and Magyar live pell-mell together, the two former mutually detest and abhor one another. The Hungarian, however, proud of his own soldierly virtues, cannot help admiring the kindred courage of the Serb. Another trait in the Serb character, closely connected with his courage, is his ambition, both social and political. Few scholars in the schools are more diligent and eager in the acquisition of knowledge than the Serbs, and this nationality of but 200,000 souls gives more trouble to the Hungarian Government than the Slovacks and Ruthenians, who are ten times their number.

Of all the nationalities of Hungary, the Serb seems to me to correspond most closely to the romantic

ideal which many persons in England form of a warlike barbarian. The contrast between the Serb and the Schwab of Southern Hungary is like that between the Homeric and Hesiodic schools of poetry. The Hungarian, I know, considers himself, and is considered by others, a poetical being. For my own part, I must say that he always reminded me of M. Michelet's description of the essentially prosaic character of the life of a Roman citizen during the struggles of the Patricians and Plebeians. The Magyar is too much of a lawyer to be a poet. The practical and political side of his nature has been developed at the expense of the artistic. The Hungarians have, it is true, written poetry of considerable merit, but it is lyrical rather than epical. I regret to say that I am not acquainted with any Slav language or literature. Judging from the specimens I have met with, translated into other languages, I should say that they have a decidedly epical character.

One thing which struck me with respect to the Serbs, was the evident physical superiority of the Servians,—*i.e.* the inhabitants of the principality of Free Servia south of the Danube,—as compared with the Raizen of the South of Hungary. My remarks about Serb demoralization are, I believe, only applicable to the latter. At any rate, I must distinctly state that I do not profess to have any knowledge of the Serbs in Servia, and my ideas with respect to

those in Hungary have been derived in great measure from their rivals, the Germans and Hungarians.

The Wallachs, or Daco-Romans, are said to share the vices of bigotry, superstition, ignorance, laziness, and improvidence, with the Raizen. In two points they, at any rate, differ from them. The Hungarian despises the Wallach for his cowardice, as much as he respects the Serb for his desperate courage. On the other hand, the Wallach, so far from diminishing in numbers like the Serb, appears to gain ground, and encroach upon the Magyars and Germans with whom he comes into contact. The race seems to be not only physically prolific, but to possess, in an eminent degree, the faculty of assimilating and "wallachizing" the heterogeneous elements in its midst. In the matter of religion they stand midway between the Ruthenians and the Serbs. They have not submitted *en masse* to the Pope like the former, nor as resolutely resisted the persecutions of their Roman Catholic sovereigns as the latter. Of their number rather less than half belong to the United branch of the Greek Church, while rather more than half have remained faithful to Orthodoxy.

The interest felt by most English readers in the "nationality question" is limited to considerations of the effect the principle of nationalities may, or may not have in breaking up the Austrian Empire. Many

of those who desire the preservation of that empire wish the German element to be predominant, because they have a theory, held more or less consciously, that that element was the cement which held the various discordant parts of that empire together. The theory appears plausible; indeed it does contain a great amount of truth. It must, however, be distinctly understood that the Germans exercised this cementing power, not as a dominant nationality, but as adherents, or rather, as servants and ministers of the house of Habsburg. This they could do as long as dynasties appeared of more importance than the nations over which they ruled. As a matter of fact, the Habsburgs, and not their German subjects, were the withe which bound the faggot of their empire together. The expression "Austrian Empire" is a comparatively recent one, and is less correct than that more commonly used in earlier times, "Dominions of the House of Austria." But things have now changed. The Germans have become a nationality like the rest, and in that capacity cause as much disquiet to their rulers, are in fact as much a secessionist element, as the Tchekhs, the Poles, the Roumans, or the Italians.

What in fact is generally not understood in England with respect to the feeling of nationality is its connection with democracy. The sneers of Mr. Charles Boner about "that malignant epidemic,

the 'nationality fever,'" are conceived in that spirit of supercilious and contented ignorance about the feelings and the inner life of less fortunate portions of mankind, which so often characterizes the French or English tourist. He,—reflecting here, as throughout his book, the feelings of his German *entourage*,—actually makes it a subject of complaint that the Serbs in Hungary consider it an insult to be called "Raizen," and the Roumans to be called "Wallachs." "Not long since," says he, "both were a wild horde, without a trace of civilization." Just so: it is because they have already acquired some rudiments of civilization and aspire to raise themselves to the level of the most favoured nations of Europe, that they are determined to have their feelings of nationality respected, and have begun to cultivate the elements of their national life, their language, and their literature.

As long as Hungary was only in the aristocratic stage of development, as long as civilization, culture, political and civil liberty, were regarded as things which only concerned the noble and the rich, and were caviar to the general, there was no reason why any agitation should be made on behalf of the languages of the lesser nationalities. The "nobles," the governing class, for whom and by whom the State was administered, were above considerations of nationality. If any of them wished to know or enjoy something more than the vulgar delights of life, he

learned Latin, French, or Italian. Now, however, that civilization is regarded as a good common to all, even to the poor, one of two things must be done; either the poor must all acquire the language of the State and make that their mother-tongue, or else their own dialects must be so far cultivated as to become efficient channels to them of all the benefits of civilization. The first alternative is naturally preferred by the State, *i.e.* by the rich and powerful, whether Hungarian gentlemen or German bureaucrats. It is perhaps the one which in the end will prove most advantageous to all parties. At the same time it is unreasonable to complain of the demagogues, *i.e.* of the half-educated men who, from interested or disinterested motives, constitute themselves the champions of the poor, preferring the other alternative. "Good Society" does not recognize this class, but the exclusive rule of "Good Society" in political matters is being shaken in Hungary, as it has been nearer home.

At the beginning of this chapter I expressed my conviction that, sooner or later, the whole population of Hungary will speak one language, and become as much one nationality as the people of the United Kingdom. At the same time, I think that this consummation will be most speedily and surely brought about by peaceable measures, by the avoidance of all irritation of *nationalitarian* susceptibilities,—in short,

by pursuing the policy which Baron Eötvös, the present Hungarian Minister of Education, has long advocated, and is now engaged in carrying out. The more the inhabitants of Hungary are educated to appreciate the fact that they are all brothers, children of a common country, with common interests and common dangers, the more they will instinctively perceive the advantages to be derived from the exclusive use of one common language. What that language will be is an interesting question, but one which does not at present admit of any certain decisive answer. The reader of this chapter will have perceived that I think the Magyar most likely to be adopted.

This opinion is, however, based on the assumption that the boundaries of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, or at least of the Hungarian Kingdom, will long remain what they are at present. Within those limits the Magyar language has most of the qualities requisite to assure its predominance. The Magyar nationality forms a compact mass in the centre of the land, and, at the same time, is spread over its whole extent. About one-half—and that socially the most important half—of the population are Magyars, who are thus numerically superior to any one other nationality in the country. The gentry, the professional classes, all belong to it. It alone attracts and absorbs the fragmentary nationalities, such as the Jews and Arme-

nians. Magyar is the language of Hungarian history, Hungarian law; Magyar literature is the only literature on Hungarian soil which at present shows any signs of vitality. What is there to be set against all these claims? The undoubted fact that German is the language of commerce in Hungary, and, it is argued, always will be. I myself do not see any immediate likelihood that German will be deposed from its position as the medium of commercial transactions with the rest of Europe, but do not therefore suppose that it will consequently succeed in becoming the language of the State, of society, or of the mass of the population. So, too, it is necessary for every Hungarian student of science to know at least one of the three more important European languages. But such has long been the case with still smaller populations than the Magyar, with the Dutch, the Danes, and the Swedes, who have nevertheless preserved their national languages for centuries.

If, however, the Austro-Hungarian Empire is to be broken up, the question, What will be the future language of Hungary? becomes too indefinite to admit of an answer. No power would profit so much by such a catastrophe as Russia, and in that case Russian would probably supplant Magyar over the greater part, if not the whole of its present area. Nor would the Magyar language alone suffer by such aggrandisement of Russian. The kindred Slav dia-

lects, Polish, Slovack, and Ruthenian, would disappear, and the Rouman or Wallachian would probably share the same fate.

Hungarian statistics are eminently unsatisfactory; I can, therefore, offer the lovers of figures nothing better than the following statement as to the numerical proportions of the several nationalities in Hungary and the Austrian empire in 1857. It is extracted from one of the newest books on the subject, that of Mr. John Hunfalvy, who does not claim for it more than an approximation to the truth :—

Nationalities.	Whole Austro-Hungarian Empire.	Hungarian Kingdom, including Dalmatia.
	Pr. ct.	Pr. ct.
Germans	7,877,675 = 24·4	1,484,948 = 10·6
Magyars	4,947,134 = 15·3	4,869,234 = 35·4
Tchekhs and Slovacks	6,132,742 = 18·8	1,631,732 = 11·0
Poles	2,159,648 = 6·6	.....
Ruthenians	2,752,482 = 8·4	424,263 = 3·0
Slovenians, or Wends	1,156,641 = 3·5	54,779 = 0·3
Croats	1,337,010 = 4 0	1,198,964 = 8·5
Serbs, including Bunyevazen and Dalmatians, &c.	1,438,201 = 4·3	1,363,171 = 9·6
Bulgarians	24,030	24,030
All the Slav Nationalities together	15,000,754 = 45·6	4,696,939 = 33·1
Roumans, or Wallachs	2,595,453 = 7·4	2,416,874 = 18·0
Italians	487,788 = 1·2	887
Friauli and Ladini	63,338	.....
Jews	1,053,448 = 3 1	413,020 = 3·0
Albanians, or Clementines	3,175	3,175
Greeks and Macedonians, or Zinzars	2,105	450
Armenians	16,121	9,864
Gypsies	146,100 = 0·5	143,150 = 1·0

On the above table Mr. Hunfalvy observes, that it certainly sets down the number of the Magyars too low, and quotes Fényes as coming nearer to the truth, who estimates their numbers in 1864 as 6,555,124. Of these, 5,314,202 inhabited Hungary strictly so called; 832,900 Transylvania; 40,000 Croatia, Slavonia, and the Military Frontier; while outside the boundary of the Hungarian Kingdom about 15,000 lived in the Bukovina, and 50,000 in Vienna itself. Mr. Charles Boner, in his book on *Transylvania*, on the authority of the Saxon Bielz, gives the numbers of Magyars in Transylvania as only 536,011.

According to Fényes, the population of Hungary proper, exclusive of Transylvania, Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, and the Military Frontier, was, in 1864, as follows:—

Magyars	5,314,202	Croats	94,128
Slovacks	1,412,303	Dalmatians	70,102
Wallachs	1,132,525	Slovenians	52,034
Germans	880,734	Gypsies	36,842
Ruthenians	381,986	Bulgarians	23,454
Jews	372,191	Greeks	6,749
Serbs	293,648	Armenians	3,327

As throwing further light on the numerical relations of these nationalities to each other, I may add, that the *Néptanitók Lapja*—a newspaper for the masters of primary schools, published in the different languages of the country by the Hungarian Ministry

of Education — is distributed among them in the following proportion: — 8,399 in Magyar, 2,162 in German, 2,337 in Rouman, 1,208 in Slovack, 467 in Ruthenian, 328 in Servian, and 88 in Croatian.

CHAPTER XX.

HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTISM.

Political Character of the Reformation—Hungary and Bohemia contrasted—The Word *Kurucz*—Turkish Oppression of Catholicism—The Friends of the Reformation in Germany—In France and Hungary—Lutheran Burghers and Calvinist Nobles—Protestantism in Transylvania—Religious Influence of Feudal Lords—Switzerland and Székel-land—The Mass in Magyar—Neutral Character of Hungarian History—The Protestants and the Crown—Joseph II.'s Edict of Toleration—The Johannites—The Nazarenes—Compared with the Quakers and Mennonites—Hungarian Toleration—Its Imperfect Character—Persecution of the Sabbatarians—Decentralized Public Opinion—Proposals of a Calvinist Synod—Its Misrepresentation of History—Catholic Reaction.

EVERY impartial student of history must observe that no religious movement was ever so dependent upon political circumstances as the great ecclesiastical revolution of the sixteenth century. Where the government was absolute, as in Spain, Italy, Denmark, or Sweden, the people remained Roman Catholics or became Protestants with most suspicious unanimity. Where the mediæval aristocracies balanced the central power of the Crown, as in France, Bohemia, Hungary,

civil wars of religion were the natural consequences. The final predominance of Catholicism in these three countries is a trophy of the victory of the Crown over the nobility. In Bohemia that victory was most decisive, and Bohemia, the earliest and most obstinate rebel against the authority of the Holy See, became one of the most "*dévot*" countries of Europe. On the other hand, as in Ireland Romanism maintained itself by alliance with the national hatred of the "Saxon," so did Calvinism in Hungary by identifying itself with the national jealousy of the *Német.*

That Hungary did not share the fate of Bohemia, that Hungarian constitutionalism and Hungarian Protestantism survived the assaults made upon them throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the house of Habsburg and the great Roman Catholic party, is in a great measure to be attributed to the assistance they received from the Sublime Porte. Mohammedanism and Calvinism were allied against Catholicism. The period of this struggle, which may, roughly speaking, be said to have lasted from the battle of Mohács in 1526 to the peace of Szatmár in 1711, is referred to by the Hungarians as the *kurucz világ* or "insurgent world." This word *kurucz* has itself a curious history. It is a corruption of the Latin word *crux*, and was first applied to the host of peasants got together by the Papal Legate, Thomas Bakács, in 1514, for a *crusade* against the

Turks. They, however, turned their arms against the nobles, and all the horrors of a *jacquerie* were perpetrated on both sides. Later, in the seventeenth and in the beginning of the eighteenth century, this anti-aristocratical name was appropriated by the aristocratical insurgents, the Russells and Cavendishes of Hungary,—who fought for "civil and religious liberty," *i.e.* aristocratic privilege and Protestantism, against the Emperors Ferdinand II., Ferdinand III., Leopold I., and Joseph I. After the Turks had been finally expelled from Hungary, and Francis Rákóczy II., the last of the great aristocrats who headed national insurrections against their German sovereigns, had been driven into exile by his refusal to accept the terms of the Treaty of Szatmár, the word survived to designate those belonging to the national opposition who defended their constitutional rights with the more modern weapons of protocols, protests, speeches, and pamphlets. It may be recognized in the Viennese *Handwerker's* drinking-song, which begins,—

Krutzi! Türken! heut' ist Montag,
Und ich hab' kein' Kreutzer Geld.

Nor is it to be wondered at that the Viennese should have preserved the memory of the fierce horsemen who had caracoled around the walls of the *Kaiser-Stadt*, their saddles covered with the skins of the

lions and leopards which they had surprised and killed in the Imperial menagerie at Laxenburg.

The condition of the Roman Catholic Church in those parts of Hungary which were occupied by the Turks may be commended to the attention of ecclesiastical romance-writers in search of a new field. A Benedictine of Tihany told me that the spiritual necessities of the whole county of Somogy had to be satisfied by the ministrations of two Franciscans, which order seems to have been in better odour with the Mohammedans than any other. In answer to my inquiries he said there existed no book on the subject.

The doctrines of the Reformation met, for the most part, with the best reception from those classes which enjoyed a certain amount of civilization and political interest — the feudal aristocracy, and the burghers of the privileged free cities. In Germany, we see some curious consequences of the double patronage of the Reformation by these two diverse, not to say rival, classes. It was especially in Roman Germany, to the south of the Danube, in Switzerland and on the Rhine, that the great cities were situated, and the third estate had made most progress in emancipating itself from the feudal yoke of the nobility. There the new doctrines found ready acceptance from rich, free, and enlightened citizens, and Bern, Lucern, Basel, Strasburg, Nördlingen, and

Augsburg, became strongholds of the Protestant party. At the other end of Germany, where the feudal yoke weighed so heavy that even now the peasantry of Mecklenburg have not shaken it off, the princes, from various reasons, chiefly geographical, embraced the cause of Lutheranism, and imposed it on their more or less passive vassals from Friesland to Livonia. The history of the Reformation in France shows us similar influences at work, although with a very different ultimate result. When we look at Hungary—of course meaning to include Transylvania under that designation—we shall find that the cause of the Reformation was principally supported, if not so much by the great oligarchs, at any rate by the mass of the "nobles," and by the Royal free cities, chiefly of German origin, stretching from Oedenburg, on the borders of Austria, to distant Kronstadt, nestled in a recess of the Southern Carpathians. In the first fervour of Protestant zeal, almost all the great houses went over to the new religion, until only three magnate families remained faithful to the church of their forefathers. In the so-called counter-Reformation, by far the greater number of these "dynasts" returned to the religion of Cæsar and his court. The great mass of the lesser nobles, or, as we should call them, the gentry, who had in the first instance become Protestants, remained firm in their adhesion to the persecuted faith, their

lower social position rendering them less susceptible to Court influence. The two streams of Protestantism —the "noble" and the burgher—were in Hungary distinguished by the Confessions which they severally adopted. While the citizens of the German towns of Upper Hungary and Transylvania adhered unanimously to the Confession of Augsburg, the great majority of the Magyar Protestant nobility professed the doctrines of Zwingle and Calvin.

I have before observed that the hope and strength of Hungarian Protestantism was the Padishah of the Osmanlis. As the power and influence of the Sublime Porte was strongest in those parts of the country which lay furthest from the German frontier, it was in Transylvania that the cause of the Reformation especially prospered. There the German colonists went over *en masse* to Lutheranism, which form of Christianity is known to this day by the name of *szász vallás*, "the Saxon religion." Their municipal unanimity was not imitated by the less compactly organized Magyars. A great number of them remained within the pale of the Catholic Church. Of those who left it the great majority adopted the Helvetic Confession, while a minority became converted to the doctrines of Socinus. As Lutheranism was the variety of Protestantism which first made its way into Hungary, it is not surprising that a minority of the Magyars should have adopted it and adhered to it in spite of

the opposite attractions of Calvinism and Catholicism. In Transylvania I know no instances of Magyars professing Lutheranism except a few villages which were feudal dependants of the Saxon city of Kronstadt. This is only one among many instances in which the question, whether peasants should remain Catholics or become Protestants, and, if the latter, which form of Protestantism they should adopt, was settled for them by their feudal lord. Two facts, however, of peculiar interest may be observed with respect to this influence of the feudal superior. First, it only prevailed in the case of those vassals who before the Reformation belonged to the Latin Church. I know no instance, in which a Protestant sovereign or feudal lord brought over his subjects or vassals belonging to the Oriental Church to his own religion. There may have been some isolated instances of such conversions, but they must have been very rare. The Greek Church occupied, so to speak, a position of strict neutrality in the struggle which rent asunder the Latin communion. The second curious fact to be observed with regard to the spiritual influence of the feudal lord is its chronological limitation. It was only during the first stages of the struggle that his example was necessarily followed by his subjects. When a Protestant noble proprietor changed his religion, the Protestant peasantry on his estate did not—at any rate after a certain date—imitate his apostasy.

In like manner when the Catholic government had confiscated the estates of such of "the religion" as remained inaccessible to its blandishments, a very severe persecution was necessary to compel the peasantry to return to the bosom of "the only saving church." This fact is probably to be explained by the increased interest which religious controversy and improved primary education had caused the peasantry to take in such questions. At any rate, however we may explain it, about the fact itself there can be no doubt. It is a very common thing in Hungary to find the lord of an estate a Catholic and his peasantry Protestants, or *vice versâ*. I myself know several villages where the lords of the manor are Roman Catholic bishops, chapters, or monastic orders, while the villagers themselves are Calvinists.

English travellers in Switzerland are fond of observing that the people in the Catholic cantons are poor, dirty, and ignorant, as compared with their neighbours in the Protestant cantons. This they hastily conclude to be the effects of their religion. Judging from what I have myself observed in Hungary, and especially in Transylvania, I should say that they mistake the effect for the cause. In the exclusively Magyar portion of the latter country—the *Székelföld*—we find that those jurisdictions, whose inhabitants were at the time of the Reformation the most prosperous and most civilized, are partially, not

to say largely, Protestant. On the other hand, the whole jurisdiction of Csik, on whose barren and inclement mountains the poor woodcutters suffer perennial hunger, is devoutly and exclusively Catholic. As might have been expected from its origin, the words applied to primitive Christianity, "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called," were but imperfectly applicable to Protestantism. It seems to me that nothing less than a neglect of the poor, a postponement of them to the political and educated classes, can explain the fact that Protestantism so nearly conquered Poland and so completely lost it.

It has become a well-known commonplace of recent Protestant historians of religion that the Roman See has especially preserved its power and influence in those parts of Europe which speak languages allied to Latin. From an interesting paper read before the Kisfaludy Society by Mr. Stephen Bartalus, it appears that the want of affinity between the Latin and Magyar languages contributed to some extent to the furtherance of Protestantism in Hungary. Even before the Reformation parts, at least, of the Mass were sung in Hungarian. The continuance of this practice was, of course, forbidden by the Council of Trent.

A French Protestant and an English Romanist are equally in the unpleasant situation that their

national and religious prejudices are in strong antagonism to each other. From this evil, at any rate, a Hungarian is free. To whichever of those two great religious parties he may belong, he can look back on a glorious past connected with it. To a zealous Catholic Hungary is the realm of St. Stephen, of St. Imre, of St. Ladislaus, of that Matthias Corvinus who triumphed over the Hussite heretics of Bohemia —the palladium of whose constitution is the Holy Apostolic Crown, which angels brought down from heaven and a Pope conferred upon its first king, whose successor even to this day must be a member of the Church Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman; whose rights and privileges he at his coronation takes a special oath to maintain and defend. A Protestant, on the other hand, looks back with well-founded pride on the heroic struggles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the cause of Protestantism was allied with that of the constitutional liberties of his country, on the names of the Bocskais, the Bethlens, and the first Rákóczys. *Apropos* of this double character of the country I may mention, as a fact little known in England, that the currency of the so-called "national Government" of 1848-49, at whose head was a Protestant, Kossuth, bore on its obverse the effigy of the Virgin as Queen of Heaven, with the legend, "Holy Mary, Mother of God, Protectress of Hungary."

The constitutional rights of the Hungarian Protestants above alluded to were founded upon certain treaties, made between the Crown on one side and the Princes of Transylvania and the insurgent Protestants on the other. Of these the most important were the treaty of Vienna, made with the insurgent chief Botskay in 1606; and the treaty of Linz, made with George Rákóczy in 1645. Both these treaties were recognized as integral parts of the constitution, and were incorporated into the diploma which the Kings of Hungary had to publish before they could be crowned. We are forcibly reminded of the great political changes that have passed over Europe during the last two centuries and a half, when we read that the execution of these treaties was guaranteed by the three great Protestant powers of that day—England, Holland, and Sweden.

In spite, however, of these treaties, means were found, through the constitutional preponderance of the Catholic Prelacy and the bigotry of the House of Habsburg, to infringe, in many ways, the guaranteed rights of the Protestants. At length Joseph II. issued his Edict of Toleration, which, while it offended the Catholic clergy as a favour shown to the heretics, displeased the constitutionalists as being an act of arbitrary power, like the celebrated Declaration of our own James II. Nor did it satisfy the Protestants, who complained that they were tolerated as of favour,

instead of having their constitutional rights and privileges, which their fathers had gained at the point of the sword, recognized as valid. At present the all-absorbing interest of politics and the tolerant spirit of the nineteenth century, nowhere so dominant as in Hungary, have brought about a degree of good feeling between Catholics and Protestants which no treaties or edicts could of themselves secure.

There exist in different parts of the Austrian Empire, but nowhere recognized by law, certain religionists akin to the Mennonites of Northern Germany. They are known by various names, as Adamites, Johannites, &c. Joseph II., when he promulgated his celebrated Edict of Toleration, complained that he could not get on with too many religions, and restricted its scope to a few religious bodies, designated by name. Thus he excluded the Johannites. They are said, however, to be numerous in Vienna. The dominant ideas of the age protect them from any very active persecution, but the letter of the law is often used against them by the clergy, who are thus enabled to harass them without any prospect of suppressing them. Their rejection of the sacrament of baptism is the most common occasion for such prosecutions, as by law every child born of Christian parents must be baptized by a clergyman belonging to some denomination recognized by law (*religio recepta*). When a Johannite is actually

brought into court and openly avows his connection with the sect, which he always does, the magistrate is obliged, however reluctantly, to inflict the penalty laid down by the law for belonging to an unrecognized sect. These sectaries are almost always artisans, and in the accounts which they give of their embracing the doctrines of the Johannites they generally state that it was accompanied by a change from a wild and vicious life to one of regularity and sobriety. A Johannite, a couple of years ago, gave such an account of himself in a police court at Vienna. When he had ended, the magistrate said that the law compelled him to send him to prison, but in order to show his respect for his estimable character he begged to shake hands with him, which the Johannite accordingly did.

Under the names of "Nazarenes" and "Followers of Christ" this sect has made its appearance in the south of Hungary, where within the last few years great numbers have joined it, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Szegedin and Hód-Mezö-Vásárhely. These converts had belonged, some to the Roman Catholic Church and some to the Helvetic Confession. But what made this sudden development of Nazarenism so alarming to both the Catholic and Protestant clergy was the fact that it was not confined to the artisan class of the large towns, but had broken out among the peasants, the agricultural

population. Now what are called in England the surplice fees are of great importance to both priest and pastor, and these the Nazarenes do not pay. Like the Quakers they dispense with all clerical ministrations whatsoever. The sacraments, baptism included, are rejected by them. They are said to dispense with all religious ceremonies in the burial of their dead. When they marry they present themselves before the civil magistrate, and give him public notice of the fact; which places such functionaries as are averse to persecution in an awkward dilemma. For the Protestant clergy any large secession from the Protestant churches would be a heavy blow, as they are supported by voluntary contributions, settled by contract with the congregation, or as they call it *commune* (*Közseg*, *Gemeinde*). What, in fact, gave the greatest impetus to the Nazarene movement was the terrible drought of 1863 and consequent poverty of the peasantry in the southern portion of the Alföld.

Another point in which the Nazarenes agree with the Quakers is their horror of war and bloodshed. Since the passing of the new law rendering military duty obligatory on all the inhabitants of the country, the Nazarenes settled in Pest have petitioned the Hungarian Ministry to grant them a special exemption from service on the score of their religious convictions. It has been observed, however, that in the North German army the Mennonites, who entertain

similar scruples, are placed *en masse* in the transport and ambulance departments; it is proposed to do the same with the Nazarenes. Pending the passing of a law recognizing new sects, the Hungarian Ministry has ordered the civil authorities to register the births, deaths, and marriages of these anti-sacerdotal sectaries.

It would be an error to attribute to the Nazarenes any clearly defined body of doctrines, and Mr. Tayler, in his recent article in the *Theological Review*, was, perhaps, too hasty in supposing that they have any sympathy with the Unitarians of Transylvania, or are likely to coalesce with them.

One of the favourite subjects of Hungarian conversation, repeated again and again *ad nauseam*, is the religious toleration which is alleged to prevail in the country. A more careful examination of the actual state of things will make a less favourable impression on the English traveller. It is true that Hungarian society is on the whole pervaded by a sentiment of religious indifferentism to an extent much greater than would be generally approved of in England. But I am not so sure that this sentiment always acts favourably for religious toleration. Persons who have no religious feelings, or at any rate no distinct religious opinions, do not feel the oppressive character of laws which forbid the formation of new religious sects, or render difficult the passage from one recognized religious body to another.

Foreigners—or I ought perhaps to say English foreigners—have been but too ready to accept the Hungarians' own account of their religious tolerance. Mr. Paget * speaks of Transylvania enjoying religious liberty some hundred years ago, and possessing institutions and rights, for which the most civilized nations of Europe have not been thought sufficiently advanced. In another English book we read that "in Hungary and Transylvania the various Christian sects have long enjoyed equal rights with the Roman Catholics." How great is the difference between Hungarian or Austrian ideas of religious toleration and ours,—to say nothing of those which prevail in France and America,—may be judged from the distinction made by Hungarian law between *religiones receptæ* and *religiones toleratæ*. A *religio recepta* was a religion recognized by the State as having certain rights and privileges. Characteristically enough the *religiones receptæ* were not the same in the different parts of the Hungarian kingdom. In Transylvania there were four such privileged creeds: the Roman Catholics, the Evangelicals of the Helvetic and Augustan Confessions, and the Unitarians. The Greek Church, whose members formed the majority of the population, stood on a level with Judaism as a mere *religio tolerata*.† In Hungary Proper the

* *Hungary and Transylvania*, vol. ii. p. 181.

† At the same time an individual Greek could become a Hungarian nobleman, which a Jew could not.

Orthodox Greek Church, whose bishops had seats in the Upper House of the Diet, was a *religio recepta*, as well as the two Evangelical sects, while Unitarianism was utterly unrecognized by law until 1848. Then Art. xx. sect. i. of the laws of that year declared *az unitária vallás* to be a "received" religion in Hungary Proper. Moreover, the predominant position of the Roman Catholic Church as the State religion was more clearly marked in Hungary than in Transylvania. In Croatia and Slavonia, again, although the Orthodox Greeks enjoy free and unrestricted exercise of their religion, Protestants are not allowed to possess real property. In case an Evangelical came into possession of houses or lands situated in one of these orthodox kingdoms, the Royal *fiscus* exchanged it for him, for property of the like description and value in Hungary Proper. Such at least was the rule not very long ago, but now-a-days things change so rapidly that heretics may soon be allowed to acquire real property even in the "triune" kingdom.*

But neither the privileges of a "received religion," nor the forbearance exercised towards a "tolerated religion," were the portion of a new sect. Only the other day the Unitarian Church of Transylvania celebrated the three-hundredth anniversary of the first proclamation of religious freedom at the Transylvanian Diet of Thorda in 1568. An interesting account

* *i.e.* of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia.

of this celebration has appeared in the *Theological Review* for January, 1869. But these very Unitarians, not long after that proclamation of John Sigismund Zápolya, persecuted one another on the question of the worship due to Christ. A still severer persecution was directed by the Government of the Calvinist Prince George Rákóczy I. against the sect of the Sabbatarians. The distinctive tenet of this little-known sect was the observance of the Mosaic Sabbath on the seventh day of the week, in this respect resembling our Seventh-Day Baptists. They observed certain other injunctions of the Mosaic law, as, for instance, that enjoining abstinence from swine's flesh. Their first founder appears to have been a certain Andreas Eössy, whose writings were publicly burnt by the common hangman at Maros-Vásárhely in the year 1588. The sect found most adherents amongst the Székels. The Transylvanian Diet held at Déezs in 1638 marked the Sabbatarians with the "*nota infidelitatis*," or brand of disloyalty and high treason. Persecution compelled them to conform outwardly to Calvinism or Unitarianism, while they privately continued their Sabbatarian practices. This double-dealing did not, however, shelter them from the restless bigotry of the Roman Catholic clergy, from which they were not relieved by the famous edict of toleration of Joseph II., a philanthropist, but, above all things, a bureaucrat. In 1817 several Sabbatarian

families, rendered desperate by the persecutions to which they had so long been subjected, spent a whole Sunday in ploughing their fields as an open defiance to their persecutors, and then left their native land to seek peace in the dominions of the Sultan. In the year 1827 the zeal of the Roman Catholic priest of the Székel village of Bözöd-Ujfalu achieved the confiscation of the property of three Sabbatarian families. A gentler and more rational method of conversion was attempted in 1855 by Haynald, then Roman Catholic Bishop of Transylvania (now Archbishop of Kalocsa). This prelate, universally admitted to be one of the greatest capacities of the Roman Catholic clergy, plied the Sabbatarians with the whole force of his eloquence, as he spoke to them of the history of the Jewish people, of their unthankful resistance to the will of God, and the terrible punishments which have consequently fallen upon them. But he seems to have spoken above the comprehension of his hearers, who left the meeting with the remark, "What a fine mouth he has! Pity that he is not a Sabbatarian." A recent number of the *Hon* tells us that the Sabbatarian Székels concentrated at Bözöd-Ujfalu, numbering in all about 160 souls, weary of the annoyances attached to their position as a sect unrecognized by the law, have gone over to Judaism.

This history of the Sabbatarians exemplifies the necessity for a strong unified public opinion, to over-

come the feelings of sectarian intolerance, even in such a country as Hungary, where those feelings are, comparatively speaking, weak. The sentiment of the capital, nay, of the country at large, may be the very reverse of bigoted; but where every municipality (I had almost written every magistrate) is left in great measure to act according to its own goodwill and pleasure, many acts of oppression will continue to be perpetrated, and the code will be left unamended. If the "received" Protestant bodies, the Calvinists and Lutherans, wish to succeed in placing themselves on a footing of real equality with the Catholics, they must adopt a more generous policy than that which they have for the most part followed hitherto. Instead of fighting for the letter of the laws guaranteeing their own exclusive privileges, they should stand forth as champions of complete religious equality for all, including the weaker sects. If we may judge of their probable conduct by the "Opinion" drawn up in December, 1867, by the ecclesiastical authorities of the Reformed Church of the Circle beyond the Tisza, they would seem to have perceived this truth. At the commencement of the document referred to, they laid down two leading principles to be kept in view by the Hungarian Government, when framing a new "inter-confessional" law, as follows:—

The first is that the new law should not be one adapted severally to the different received confessions

in the country, but a general confessional law which would be also applicable to any new sects that may hereafter arise. *Apropos* of this principle, they very justly observe that to pass any new law which, framed on the model of the old ones, made separate provisions for the different sects, would be to perpetuate those walls of partition between the citizens whose existence, more than anything else, prevents Hungary from becoming, in the highest and best sense of the word, a modern state.

"Our second, and even more important leading principle," say they, "is that the new law should be directed to the protection of the rights of individual consciences rather than of the several sects or ecclesiastical organizations." Amidst the shocks of religious war which characterized preceding centuries, when persecution was the rule, and toleration had to be provided for by express statutes, the rights of individual believers were necessarily subordinated to the interests of organizations large enough and compact enough to assert their rights in hostile legislatures, in the council-chambers of kings, and even, if need were, on the battle-field.

In the sketch they give of the course of former Hungarian legislation on the subject, perhaps not more strongly coloured to suit their purpose than might reasonably be expected, they say :—

"The unconditional freedom of the conscience,

and, consequently, the perfect legal equality of the various Christian sects, are by no means new ideas in Hungarian legislation, nor do they date from the year 1848. During the years immediately succeeding the Reformation they were practically in force in our country. In Transylvania the Diet of Torda, in 1557, proclaimed unconditional liberty of conscience, and later Diets affirmed the equality of the several Confessions. Our Hungarian ancestors of the Reformed Religion achieved the Peace of Vienna not merely in the interests of their own sect, but of general religious freedom. Of the Protestant churches, especially of the Reformed, it could not be said, down to the commencement of the last century, that they held a subordinate position in our fatherland. Indeed, when the power of right reason had almost completely extirpated Roman Catholicism from the bosoms of the Magyar population in Transylvania and the parts thereto annexed, as well as in those occupied by the Turks, nay, in general throughout all Hungary, the Reformed Church became practically invested with all the rights of the religion of the State. Thus, both the letter of the law and our past history justify us in demanding, with inflexible constancy, complete equality of rights in all matters whatsoever, and so much the more because, as our Circle truly asserted in 1848, we Hungarian Reformed have not been received or tolerated in this our fatherland out of favour or

through necessity, but are the natural and lawful successors of those ancestors who founded on this soil a country and a state, and so often poured out their blood for the same. And verily now it is high time that we should be no longer deprived in this our own kingdom of a great part of our rights, and that merely because we profess, proclaim, and follow, in this country one of the great principles of the Gospel and of humanity—the precious freedom of the human conscience."

I have quoted this passage, not merely nor indeed so much on account of the statements which it contains, as because it is written in a style truly Hungarian and distinctly Calvinist, because it breathes that hard, legal, self-reliant—may we not perhaps say defiant?—spirit which so eminently characterizes the Magyar Reformed. It is a spirit akin to that which animated those Scotch Presbyterians of a past age, who, to use their own expression, died fighting "for the crowned rights of Christ, and the covenanted freedom of His Church." What I have said about the Sabbatarians will have served to set in its true light the real value of the proclamation of Torda, but it may be as well to direct the attention of the uninitiated reader to the limitation contained in the words "Magyar population." These contain in themselves, insignificant as they may seem, an expression of those aristocratic feelings which characterize

Protestantism — if nowhere else — at any rate in Ireland and Transylvania, that contempt of "rude kerns" and the *misera contribuens plebs*, of Celts and Wallachs.

In one point, however, there can be little doubt that the eloquent pastor who drew up the statement of the wishes of the trans-Tiszan Circle, from which I have been quoting, is quite right. There certainly was a retrogression in the direction of Roman Catholic domination after the expulsion of the Turks from Hungary (1686) and the acquisition of Transylvania by the House of Habsburg (1688). But, if the victory of the Reformed doctrines over the minds of Magyar men had been so complete as our Calvinist friends are fond of asserting, it is difficult to explain the fact that at present a clear majority of the Magyar-speaking population of Hungary are now Roman Catholics. The English traveller, on whose Protestant sympathies it is generally safe to count, will of course be told that it is due to the persecutions of Leopold, "whom the Jesuits have nicknamed the Great." That such was not the case, that this is not a true solution of the difficulty, is proved by many undoubted facts, as, for instance, the continuance of a Roman Catholic party in Transylvania at a time when the House of Austria had little or no influence in that country,—a party strong enough to place the family of Báthori on the throne of the Principality, which position it main-

tained for three generations, and only lost through the vices of the third prince Sigismund. But Protestant credulity is very little less than Romanist. I have been told by a French Protestant that the reason why there are so few of his co-religionists in France was because they were all killed on the night of St. Bartholomew!

Note.—For convenience' sake I have repeatedly used the expressions "Lutherans" and "Calvinists," when speaking of the two Protestant or Evangelical confessions of Hungary. These words are, however, regarded in that country almost as much in the light of nicknames as the word "Papists," when applied to Roman Catholics. The two sects are diplomatically styled, "Evangelicals of either confession." *i. e.*, of the Augustan and of the Helvetic respectively. For the sake of brevity, however, the first are called merely "Evangelicals" or "Protestants," while the latter call themselves "Reformed."

CHAPTER XXI.

HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTISM—Continued.

Protestant Grievances—Army Chaplains—Conversions—Mixed Marriages—Protestant Liberalism a Source of Weakness—Divorce—Changed Character of Catholic Clergy—Lutherans and Calvinists—The Patent of 1859—Protestant Self-Government—Statistics—Interiors of Churches—Clergy and Laity—Foreign Culture among the Catholic Clergy—Their superior Social Position—Infrequency of Conversions—Probable Increase of Catholicism—Isolated Position of Hungarian Protestantism—State Aid—Superiority of Protestant Schools—Changed Position of the Crown—Proposed Catholic Autonomy.

THE present grievances of the Protestants, the points in which they consider that the laws of their country unfairly favour Roman Catholicism, are as follows:—First and foremost, the right of Roman Catholic prelates to sit as *ex-officio* members of the Upper House of the Legislature, and in certain of the higher judicial tribunals and administrative boards. Secondly, the impediments thrown in the way of conversions from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism. Thirdly, the inferior position assigned to Protestant chaplains

in the army. Fourthly, the laws relating to mixed marriages. A few details relating to some of these subjects may not be out of place here, more especially as they strikingly exemplify the view practically acted upon in Austria and Hungary, that a man's "Confession" is a matter which does not so much concern his individual self as his relations to the State and its police. For instance, although there are Protestant chaplains in the army, the registries are not kept by them; but the banns of marriage of Protestant soldiers are proclaimed by the Roman Catholic chaplains, who alone can give certificates of such proclamation. This is only a small portion of the interference in Protestant ecclesiastical affairs, which was formerly claimed and, indeed, exercised by the Roman Catholic clergy. Long after they had abandoned the project of extirpating heresy with fire and sword, they claimed the right to regulate it, to dictate to it how far it might go, what forms it might assume. Thus the Protestants were obliged to obtain licences from the Government to print their catechisms, psalters, &c. Roman Catholic bishops claimed the right of examining Protestant pastors as to their adherence to their own *licensed* forms of heresy. In like manner Roman Catholic parish priests insisted on baptizing the children of their Protestant parishioners; and when they had conceded that point they still required, for a baptismal certificate to be valid, that

it should be at least attested by a Roman Catholic priest. In the case of conversions from Roman Catholicism to Evangelicalism, it is still necessary for the convert to appear at least twice before the priest of the church he is about to renounce, and solemnly to declare his intention of so doing. Six weeks must intervene between these two declarations, which time is supposed by the law to be spent by the priest in dissuading him from taking the step, and by the intending convert in reconsidering his purpose. If, however, he still remain firm, the priest is legally bound to give him a certificate to the effect that he has passed through the required probation, and is now free to follow his own devices. When we consider what the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church is with respect to apostasy from her communion, we can easily understand that in many such cases, perhaps in the majority of them, the priests saw in the provisions of the law nothing else but a means of preventing such apostasy, and simply refused to grant any certificate at all, thus keeping the would-be convert suspended, so to say, between heaven and earth —a member neither of one church nor of the other. Our Calvinist friends, in their "Opinion," hint at the existence of still greater abuses. Not only was the intended convert himself exposed to direct and indirect persecution by the required declaration, but even the witnesses whom he had to take with him,

when he made it, were often involved in the same troubles. A recent case is referred to in which a Roman Catholic priest, who had thus declared his intention to become a Protestant, was actually kept in close and cruel confinement.

Mixed marriages, *i.e.* such in which the contracting parties belong to different religions, are a fertile source of contention between the several religious bodies. First of all comes the question of the proclamation and celebration of such marriages. Where the Roman Catholic clergy have failed in enforcing their demand, that they alone should have the right to solemnize all marriages in which either one or both of the parties are Catholics, they have insisted on the necessity of the banns being published by them. Then, as in the case of conversions, relying on their vantage-ground, they refuse to publish the banns, or having published them, to grant a certificate to that effect. In such cases the Protestant pastor, deterred by the penalties of the law, is afraid to celebrate the marriage. Many Roman Catholic priests refuse to solemnize mixed marriages at all, but for the most part they are contented with insisting on a written engagement from the Protestant party to cause the children of the union to be brought up as Catholics. When such engagements are entered into I believe that they are generally kept. In default of any such agreement the law steps in to prescribe the amount of heresy

which may be tolerated in the "mixed" household. It is worthy of notice that the law on the subject in Hungary differs from that which prevails in Transylvania. In the latter country, where Protestantism has always maintained a more independent position, the sons follow the religion of the father, the daughters that of the mother. In Hungary all the children of a Catholic father must belong to his church, a heretic father is allowed to bring up only his sons in his own faith. In their zeal for the liberty of contracting mixed marriages the trans-Tibiscan Calvinists propose that it shall not be necessary for them to be celebrated by the clergy of the religion of either of the contracting parties. This has reference to unions between Roman Catholics and Orthodox Greeks, which are objected to by the clergy of both churches. They would thus be rendered much easier, if the law allowed them to be solemnized by a Protestant pastor. Statistical authorities inform us that the greatest number of mixed marriages take place between Roman Catholics and Evangelicals of either Confession. During my stay in Hungary I never met with an Evangelical who seemed to appreciate the obvious fact that their greater liberality of sentiment on this subject was a source of weakness to them. Mixed marriages are in fact a means of slowly and uncertainly reducing the number of Hungarian Protestants. In other ways their superior enlightenment

works to the detriment of the Confession, considered as such. A Protestant pastor must be to some extent an educated man, whose spiritual ministrations must be paid for at a higher rate than those of an illiterate Greek pope. The overwhelming majority of the village popes in Transylvania and in the east of Hungary can at best but read and write and gabble over by rote a few set services. As both the Greek pope and the Protestant pastor are supported by the contributions of their flocks, there always exists a strong inducement for a poor Magyar Calvinist, who lives in a village partly inhabited by Wallachs or Ruthenians, to forswear his religion and his nationality in order to pay less for his clergyman, his church, and his school. In fact there are many villages in Transylvania which were once Magyar and Reformed, which have become Wallach and Greek; and I believe that Ruthenianism has made similar conquests in the north-east of Hungary. I have also been told by Catholics and Unitarians that the organization of the Reformed Church has had something to do with bringing about this result. The *esperest* or *esperes*, an officer in the Protestant churches subordinate to the superintendent and somewhat resembling our archdeacon, receives as his perquisites the endowments of all "*ecclesiæ desertæ*" in his district, and has therefore a direct interest in increasing their numbers.

There is another difficulty connected with these

mixed marriages which has yet to be noticed, though it is happily not of such universal interest as that question of the education of the children. I mean that of divorce. In a mediæval decentralized country like Hungary, marriage was looked upon as a matter of religious obligation, rather than a civil contract, as lying within the province of the Church, not of the State; consequently, there were as many marriage laws in the kingdom as there were recognized religions. Catholics, Evangelicals, Orthodox, and Jews, all lived under their own laws as regarded this important point. The Catholic Church, as is well known, does not recognize divorce at all; the Evangelicals, on the other hand, allow it for various causes, for instance, incurable incompatibility of temper. The question is, "Where one party is Evangelical and the other Catholic, and one or both of them desire a divorce, which law is to be followed, and by what tribunal is the case to be judged?" Of this difficulty almost all solutions are given, and one is forced to draw the conclusion that a uniform system of legislation, prescribed and administered by the impartial State, is the only way of meeting these difficulties at all consonant with justice.

On the whole, this "Opinion" is somewhat painful reading, as it shows what a very small share, after all, common sense has in the legislation of the world, at any rate of the Hungarian portion of it. It seemed

to me, when I first visited that country, a curious anomaly that so many Catholic laymen should remain such while openly condemning both the doctrines and practices of their Church, nay, even avowing their preference of other Christian bodies. But the fact is that, as a natural consequence of a combination of the rivalries of religious sects, and a bureaucratic, or would-be bureaucratic organization of society, the "Confession" to which a man professes to belong, becomes a detail in his "Legitimations-Karte," just as much as his rank, profession, or age. At present, in the educated classes at least, to pass from one communion to another is considered to be more or less discreditable. It is supposed that interested motives of some kind or other must have actuated the convert. Stories were told me of needy Protestants and Jews presenting themselves before wealthy Catholic bishops of the last generation, with the request that they might be received into the bosom of the only-saving Church, and being repelled with the intimation that a sincere heretic was more to be esteemed than an insincere Catholic. But there are not wanting signs that in this respect things are changing. A change is coming, or has come, over the Hungarian Catholic hierarchy, similar to that which De Tocqueville notices to have been wrought by the Revolution in the French clergy. They are less men of the world, less political partisans, more ardent in the cause of

the Church, less tolerant of those who dissent from her. I think, too, that their ranks are not so largely recruited from the higher aristocracy as they used to to be. There are fewer such men as Count Charles Eszterházy, the last bishop, and first archbishop, of Eger.

In Hungary, religion, like everything else, is tinctured with politics. The names "Lutheran" and "Calvinist" are held to contain a complete designation of two different characters. Five-eighths of the Lutherans are Slovacks, and of the remainder of that Confession, the greater part are Germans. On the other hand, almost all the Calvinists are Magyars. These ethnographical facts, combined with a certain amount of refinement and an absence of decided extreme views in the Lutheran's theology, have given rise to the saying, "A Lutheran is like an eel, one never knows where to lay hold of him." Thus, the story is told of a Lutheran synod held to decide whether they should continue to make the sign of the cross, the decision arrived at being that the practice was to be so continued *ut Catholici videant et Calvinistæ ne animadvertant.* The Lutherans observe a similar ambiguous neutrality with respect to the fixing of crosses on the outside of their churches, though in the majority of cases they have them. "It is a pity," said a Transylvanian Calvinist to me, "that we have rejected the cross, as consequently the

Russian soldiers did not respect our churches, nor those of the Unitarians, as they did those of the Lutherans and Catholics." Again, *àpropos* of the difference of character of the two professions, a Reformed pastor, named Bárándi, wrote, "How can the Lutherans and Calvinists unite when the Lutheran sings in church like a gnat, while the Calvinist does not even consider it a high day on which he does not overstrain his voice twice in singing from the Psalter?" In fact, several attempts have been made of late years to effect a corporate union between the two confessions, but they have all failed, through the extreme suspicion entertained by the masses on either side, which frustrated the endeavours of their leaders to unite the forces of Protestantism in one camp. Not even the influence and popularity of Kossuth, himself a Lutheran, was sufficient to effect that object.

Some of my readers may remember the great agitation among the Hungarian Protestants with respect to the Imperial Patent, promulgated in 1859. Its purpose was to render the Hungarian Protestants more amenable to the influence of the Government; but was of course suggested by the system of granting State aid to the Protestants which is followed in France. Centralized and despotic France was a favourite model of Schwarzenberg and Bach. Salaries were to be paid to the Protestant superintendents

and other officers of the Protestant church; at the same time the State would contribute to the expenses of Protestant worship and education. In consideration of this aid, it would have acquired rights of supervision and interference in the schools so assisted. Against this project the two Evangelical Confessions in Hungary protested with astonishing unanimity. In an interview with the Governor, their superintendents assured him that, if the measure was carried out, their congregations would all secede to Unitarianism, in order to belong to a religious body that did not receive State aid. This strenuous opposition defeated the designs of the Government, and Protestant autonomy was secured for the time. This, in appearance, merely ecclesiastical question, excited general interest in the country. The agitation respecting the Patent synchronized with the shock given to Viennese absolutism by the disasters of Magenta and Solferino, and in defending their ecclesiastical autonomy the Protestant synod were regarded as preserving the last remnants of the autonomy of the country. The Patent was accepted only by a few Lutheran congregations belonging to the Slovack nationality, who were consequently regarded as schismatics by the mass of their co-religionists, and nicknamed *Patentalisten.* At that time many Magyars seceded from Lutheranism to Calvinism, as they considered the latter to be the "more national religion." One of

the Lutheran superintendents, who himself belonged to the Magyar nationality, was accused by many in his diocese of trying to calvinize Lutherans, and to magyarize Slovacks. Indeed, these were considered but two sides of the same thing, so closely did they identify the Magyar nationality and the "Magyar religion."

It is, perhaps, characteristic of the excessive love of what is called "self-government"* among the Magyars, that each of the four "circles," or superintendencies, are independent of each other. This is the one point of any consequence in which there is a difference between the ecclesiastical organization of the two Evangelical Confessions. The Evangelicals of the Augustan Confession hold a general synod every year, whose decisions are binding on the several circular or superintendential synods. On the contrary, the Evangelicals of the Helvetic Confession hold general synods only from time to time, at uncertain intervals, and for the discussion of some particular question. Their general synod has only power to make propositions which the circular synods may reject or accept. I am informed that the ecclesiastical constitutions of both these Confessions are in Transylvania different to what they are in Hungary. The Reformed Church of Transylvania has not re-

* The English word itself being often used.

ceived so democratical a development as the Reformed Churches of the Hungarian circles. There the superintendent is called Bishop, and has, I believe, more power and influence. This is also the case with the Consistory, which, being the assembly of the aristocratic patrons of the Church, has a *practical* veto on the decisions of the synod. This last assembly is composed of one clerical and one lay deputy from each of the fourteen *senioratus*, into which Transylvania is divided, to which are added twelve representatives of the Consistory, and the Bishop as an *ex-officio* President. The Evangelicals of the Augustan Confession in Transylvania are, with unimportant exceptions, all Saxons, who, under the ministry of Bach and Thun, received from the Viennese Government an ecclesiastical organization similar to that which prevails among the Protestants of Bohemia and Moravia.

The division of the Reformed into superintendencies identical with the civil divisions of the country is open to objection. Its inconveniences are generally acknowledged. It was, in fact, forced upon the Reformed by the Government in 1730. Every circle has its own High School, which serves to some extent as its centre and gathering point. They are established at Pápa, Kecskemét, Sáros-Patak and Debreczin. The number of the Reformed in each severally is very unequal. The following table will

show their proportions as well as the imperfect state of statistics in Hungary allows :—

Circles or Superintendencies.	Mother Churches.	Members.
1. Trans-Danubian Circle, 1855	279	211,578
2. Cis-Danubian Circle, 1861	243	315,938
3. Cis-Tibiscan Circle, 1855	355	241,182
4. Trans-Tibiscan Circle, 1868	561	802,418

In 1866 the Reformed in Transylvania numbered 557 Mother Churches, containing 325,971 members.

The circular divisions of the "Evangelicals" or "Protestants" (as they are commonly called to distinguish them from the Reformed) do not exactly correspond with those of the sister Confession :—

Circles or Superintendencies.	Mother Churches.	Members.
1. Montan Circle (Mining District), 1866	200	337,983
2. Cis-Danubian Circle, 1855	88	171,486
3. Trans-Danubian Circle, 1855	149	188,584
4. Tibiscan Circle, 1855	127	148,249

In 1855 they numbered in Transylvania 270 Mother Churches, containing 196,375 members.

The Reformed reckoned as a "Daughter Church" (*ecclesia filialis*)—what we might call a Chapel of Ease—only such small congregations as do not exceed from fifteen to twenty souls. All the rest are considered Mother Churches, and have a fixed pastor. The Lutherans, on the contrary, fix the minimum of souls much higher, hence the worst

remunerated Protestant pastors belong to the former Confession; these are to be found especially in the so-called Tiszahát (back of the Theiss), as the district of the Upper Theiss is called. Doubtless it was in this Confession that the proverb originated, *Szegény az ekklézsia, maga harangoz a pap*, "The congregation is poor, the pastor himself pulls the bell."

The interiors of the Lutheran and Calvinist churches present a very different appearance. As is well known, the former have retained not only the altar, but also the crucifix over it. The Calvinists have neither, as they communicate at a round table, placed under the pulpit half-way down the church. But what we might not have expected is that in many cases the Reformed are in possession of the mediæval church, while the building belonging to the Catholics of the village is comparatively modern, dating from the counter-revolution, under Leopold I., in the latter half of the seventeenth century. I have often found a fine, well-proportioned church, in a Gothic style, in the hands of the Calvinists, and sadly enough have they deformed it. The ribs of the arches have been cut down almost to their origins, and painted wooden columns reared upon them. The arched roof is concealed by a flat ceiling, divided by rafters into square compartments, the whole painted blue, with a golden star in each compartment. In such a transformation the apse is of course lost, and

its space wasted, being cut off by the indispensable organ-loft: for the Hungarian Calvinists have none of the prejudices of their co-religionists in a country nearer home, against read sermons and instrumental music.

It is observable that in all disputes on subjects common,—or supposed to be common,—to religion and politics, such as the marriage laws, education, etc., the Protestant laity and clergy unite without distinction against the Catholic clergy. On the other hand, the Catholic laity are divided, some taking part with their spiritual pastors, some against them, and others holding aloof from the quarrel. It is not difficult to understand the reason of this difference. In the first place the Roman Catholic clergy are an independent and endowed body; capable, therefore, of having a will of their own, whereas the Protestant pastors are dependent on lay members of their church, either on the mass of their contribuents or on their more wealthy and powerful patrons. On them, therefore, is laid the necessity of floating with the current of lay opinion. Besides which, anything approaching, in the faintest degree, to clerical domination—not to say clerical independence—is jealously guarded against by the constitution of the Protestant churches. We, therefore, can feel no surprise when we find that both Lutheranism and Calvinism, but especially the latter, have lost to a great extent the

character of a dogmatic faith, and have become in the minds of a great many of their nominal adherents mere synonyms for a vague sort of liberalism. Indeed, when I found how many Evangelicals of either Confession hold Unitarian opinions, I was inclined to wonder at the dislike expressed by many Lutherans and Calvinists against the Unitarian body. The same tendency towards latitudinarianism may be perceived in the clergy of the Hungarian branch of the Church Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman; notably in the speeches of certain priests who sit as deputies in the Lower House of the Diet. But of course this tendency is checked in their case by their connection with the Pope and the whole body of the church outside the frontiers of their own country.

I am aware that I am expressing an opinion which will appear paradoxical to many of my readers, both English and Hungarian, when I assert that the Roman Catholic church has been in Hungary a most important element of culture; and this from the very reason which renders it less popular in that country. It is continually objected to the Roman Catholic clergy that they are not so "patriotic" as the Protestant, and especially as the Reformed. The necessary complement to this assertion is that they had their centre of gravity outside the frontier of the country, that they attached importance to foreign public opinion, and were, so to say, a living link between

Hungary and a large portion of civilized Europe, especially with Germany and Italy. Calvinism, on the other hand, represented the principle of nationality with its attendant evils, intellectual isolation, and *betyárismus.* Just as the Calvinist village squire and village pastor were more typical Magyars than any other class pretending either to social position or education, so the higher ranks of the Catholic clergy exhibited in their manners distinct traces of foreign culture. And the existence of such a class was a great gain to the country, especially to Hungarian literature. A professor in one of the colleges of the Reformed, with an impartiality only too rare, observed to me that the Roman Catholic priests often spoke and wrote Hungarian better than the pastors of the eastern counties. This he attributed to the fact of their having acquired it by a distinct effort of study, Latin having been the language in which they had been exclusively, or at any rate principally educated in their seminaries.

The social position of the Catholic priests is certainly different, and I am inclined to think superior, to that of the Protestant pastors. On this point I speak with considerable diffidence. I can only say that I have seen pastors sitting at the squire's table "below the salt." Again, I have heard the Roman Catholic clergy denounced by the gentry for bigotry, sensuality, avarice, and ignorance; but all this is some-

thing quite different to the tone of supercilious patronage with which they speak of the Protestant pastors. Of course I am speaking generally. There are Protestant clergymen who are received in society on a perfectly equal footing. This is, or, perhaps, rather was, more often the case in some parts of the country than in others; for instance, rather in Transylvania than in Hungary. But the fact is, that a man's birth determines his social position much more than the nature of his profession, and the ranks of the clergy of both religions are recruited from a somewhat lower level than they were.

I was especially amused by the fact that the Protestants were fond of representing their Catholic rivals as enjoying the special patronage of the Government, while the Catholic clergy as strenuously denied the imputation. Talking to a priest, in an out-of-the-way town in the east of Hungary, on this very subject, he emphatically denied that the Government encouraged conversions from Protestantism to Catholicism. Indeed, he denied that conversions from one creed to the other took place to such an extent as materially to affect the proportion of the Confessions. Occasionally a young man changed his religion because the parents of the girl he wished to marry objected to give their daughter to him unless he did so. But such interested conversions cancelled each other, neither party gaining or losing by them. A Calvinist

professor said that the Hungarian peasant very seldom changed his religion. Those belonging to the Reformed look on the ceremonies of the Catholic church as theatrical performances which are given gratis; "he is accustomed," says he, "to have his reason appealed to, not his feelings." So, too, another critic spoke of the "*lapidaris*" delivery of a well-known Reformed preacher as something eminently Calvinistic; "he does not speak to the heart," was his conclusion, and that, be it remembered, was meant by way of praise. I may here mention, as throwing some additional light on the Reformed pulpit in Hungary, that I found selections from the sermons of the late Rev. F. Robertson, of Brighton, translated by two Calvinist pastors.

But, in spite of the witnesses I have before cited, I am still of opinion that Catholicism is gaining ground at the expense of Protestantism. It is difficult for a foreigner like myself to speak positively on such a subject, while the evidence of natives is generally tainted with partiality. But there are some *a priori* considerations which might lead us to expect that this would be the case. After all, Catholicism is in many ways the dominant religion. It is connected with the Crown, the Court, the aristocracy—not only of Hungary, but still more of the other parts of the Austrian empire. It is, besides, the religion of the majority of the Magyar race, as well as of the majority

of the inhabitants of the Hungarian kingdom. The influence of all these advantages will be increased with the increase of so-called religious liberalism, and indifference to religious controversy. Besides which, the Catholic party are, on the whole, more zealous, more aggressive, more missionary, than their rivals. I well remember the indignation expressed by a Calvinist professor at the erection of a new Catholic church in his town, which he said was superfluous: "we," he continued, "only build churches where we want them." Indeed, the attitude assumed by many Protestants during the debates in the Diet (1869) on Baron Eötvös' inter-confessional and educational bills, betrayed a consciousness of their weakness and danger. M. Coloman Tisza, himself the superior lay officer of one of the superintendencies, proposed, as an amendment to one of the sections of the first bill, to dispense with the notice which an intending convert has at present to give of his change of faith to the clergyman of the church he is about to leave, and that in the presence of two witnesses. M. Tisza proposed to substitute a notice, in the presence of witnesses, to the clergyman of the church he intended to join. M. Bobory, one of the ultra-liberal priests who sit as deputies in the Diet, told, by way of recommending M. Tisza's amendment, that when he was a parish priest one of his flock appeared before him and announced his intention of leaving the Roman Catholic

church, but could not say what Christian body he intended to join. On the other hand, M. Peter Nagy, bishop of the Reformed church in Transylvania, opposed the amendment, on the ground that it would degrade religion in the eyes of the common people, by giving them too great a facility of changing their Confession, nor did he wish to exclude pastoral influence from the minds of such as might be wavering in their faith. The amendment was rejected. In like manner the Synod of the Augustan Confession objected to leaving the religion of the offspring of mixed marriages to be determined by the parents themselves, but would rather it should be prescribed by law. When this point was debated in the Diet, the same view was advocated by M. Coloman Tisza, as also by a Reformed pastor and one of the superintendents of the Lutheran church. They admitted that to leave the point to the disposition of the parents seemed, at first sight, the most liberal arrangement, but added that experience showed such a measure would only give free scope to external and anti-liberal influences. They were evidently afraid of the superior proselytizing zeal of the Roman Catholic clergy.

When we consider the isolated and consequently dangerous position of Hungarian Protestantism, especially of Magyar Calvinism, when we remember how former Governments have, amongst other forms

of persecution, tried to cut them off as much as possible from all communication with their co-religionists in western Europe, we cannot be surprised at their ultra-conservative tendencies on many points, at the importance, perhaps exaggerated, which they attach to their autonomy, and the suspicion with which they receive all advances made by any Government, however liberal. What many of them regard with especial alarm as a very probable consequence of the democratic, levelling, fusing tendencies of the age, combined with the maintenance of the material and pecuniary superiority of the Roman Catholic church, derived from the vast estates of its superior clergy, and its exclusive enjoyment of the mediæval foundations for the purposes of religion and education, is that their own sectarian or confessional school system will be broken up. If the State plants everywhere "common" or "simultaneous," *i.e.* unsectarian schools, maintained either by local rates or from the State treasury, a great inducement will be given to the poorer and more lukewarm members of the Reformed church to withdraw at once their children and their contributions from the schools of their own Confession. They consequently demand that the Government should recognize the right of the Protestants to a share in the mediæval fund for religion and education, which has been hitherto monopolized by the State church, and that their own confessional

schools, as such, should receive assistance from that fund. They do not propose that the Government should apportion such assistance among the various received Confessions entirely upon the basis of population. Some religious bodies, they argue, have already received so much State aid, or have been so richly endowed in past times, as not to need so much assistance at present: for instance, the Roman Catholics and the Transylvanian Saxons. Others, again, have not so much deserved it, not having exerted themselves in the cause of education as they might have done, and here allusion is especially made to the Orthodox Greeks. In contradistinction to both these classes, the Evangelicals of Hungary have exerted themselves, even beyond their powers, to improve the education of their own body, and this not with the assistance of the State, but in spite of opposition and discouragement from it. The education bill of Baron Eötvös so far complied with the wishes of the Reformed as to recognize and aid their confessional schools, but the Roman Catholic church has not, as yet, lost in Hungary its position as the religion of the State.

The Protestant schools of both Confessions have been hitherto free from all interference of the State, and received from it no pecuniary assistance. Nevertheless, through the natural alliance of enlightenment and Protestantism, partly through the intense interest

taken, not only by the Protestant clergy, but by the laity, too, in the education of their people, their primary schools are generally admitted to be the best in Hungary. Of these, the Reformed alone maintained upwards of 4,000. In consequence of their superiority, it was necessary to prevent, by special enactment, Catholic laity from sending their children to them. A Roman Catholic gentleman once told me that his gardener, also a Catholic, had withdrawn his child from the priest's school, and sent it to the Protestant, where he had become much improved. His master's only comment thereon was, "Take care the priest does not come to hear of it, and take him away." But although such a proceeding was authorised, nay, enjoined, by the letter of the law, there is so much toleration to be found in the country that the priest often declines to avail himself of it. In a *puszta* in the same county, where the landlords were all Protestants, while the majority of their labourers were Catholics, the Protestant schoolmaster, who was supported by the gentry, taught the Roman Catholic children "religion," *i. e.* the elements of Roman Catholic religious instruction. The priest of the nearest parish came out periodically to examine them, and expressed himself highly satisfied with the conscientious manner in which they were taught.

During the eighteen years' struggle of the nation

against the absolutist policy of the Viennese Government, the independence of their educational establishments of State interference and aid was a great source of pride and exultation to the Evangelicals of Hungary. In the Catholic schools and colleges, on the contrary, the Government, as representing the Apostolic Crown, appointed the professors, managed the estates, dictated the studies to be pursued, &c. This was a cause of no little dissatisfaction to the great majority of Hungarian Catholics, who were, after all, patriots. Now that the country at last possesses a national constitutional Ministry, the connection between the State and Catholic education has to be regarded from a different point of view. The leading politicians of the country recognize the fact that the tendency of the age is to separate Church and State. The Roman Catholic episcopate clearly see that their Church had, in consequence of its position as a State Church, come into a state of tutelage under the Crown. "This relation," observed the Prince Primate at the Catholic Conference held on the 1st of October, 1868, "was nevertheless rendered tolerable by the old form of the constitution, according to which the monarch could choose Catholic advisers and agents, through whom he exercised his apostolic prerogatives in the affairs of the Church, who were bound, in all important questions, to listen to the opinion of the Catholic Church Commission, which, under the pre-

sidency of the Primate, watched over all Catholic interests, and especially the administration of its foundations." This state of things was altered by the reform of 1848. The Minister of Public Worship and Education may now be a Protestant or a Greek. By the very principle of equality it were only just that the Catholic Church, losing the exceptional privileges of a State Church, should enjoy the same measure of autonomy as the Evangelical and Orthodox Churches. For this purpose it was proposed in 1848—and twenty years after the project has been again revived—to find out some way by which the members of the Catholic Church may govern themselves in ecclesiastical matters, which, of course, involves such a constitution of the Church as will give due influence to the laity. According to the plan proposed by M. Deák, a congress is to be called, in which the lay representatives are to compose an overwhelming majority. This congress is to be a sort of constituent assembly, which will settle a mode of electing a second congress, authorised to legislate on the organization of the Church, the exercise of the autonomy, the establishment of a Church council, and the definition of its sphere of action; in short, on all points which fall within the competency of the laity to discuss and decide. Of course the dogmas of the Church, her rights and ceremonies, and the discipline

and education of her clergy are excluded. The success or failure of this experiment, which in some points resembles that of the disestablishment of the Irish Church, involve interests not confined to Hungary alone.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE.

The German Language in Hungary—Advantages of knowing Hungarian—Practice of Speaking Foreign Languages—Hungarian and Russian Languages compared—The Area of the Hungarian Language—Its improved Position—Spoken by the Sovereign—Dying out in Moldavia—A Scheme of Matthias Corvinus—Making a Language—The use of Latin Words—Of English Words—Slav Words in Hungarian—German and Latin Words used by Peasants—Relation of Hungarian to Turkish—The Turks and the Finns—Sajnovits and Gyarmathi—Theories of Philologists—Castrén—Csoma—Reguly—Hungarian Grammars—Sound of the Language—Its Terseness—Advantages of its Study—Mr. Max Müller on Finnish—The Future of Hungarian—Language and Race—Agglutinative and Inflected Languages—The Hungarians as Linguists—An Obstacle to the Germanization of Hungary.

SEVERAL Englishmen have written upon Hungary from their own experience of travel there; others have learnt the Hungarian language; as far as I know I am the only one who belong to both classes. Mr. Paget, in his preface to *Hungary and Transylvania*, p. 10, says, "Without being able to speak any of the three or four languages properly indigenous to Hungary, I was sufficiently master of German,

which is spoken by every one above the rank of the peasantry, and often by them too, to enable me to converse with the Hungarians without difficulty or restraint." When a traveller who knew so much of the country, and described it so well as Mr. Paget did, exaggerates the value of German as a means of communicating ideas, we cannot be surprised that tourists, like Professor Ansted, who merely hurry over its surface, should do the same. For my own part, I cannot endorse the statement that in Hungary every one above the rank of the peasantry speaks German. But in this respect, as in several others, things may have changed since Mr. Paget published his travels. The greater prevalence of the Hungarian language, consequent on its superior cultivation, is only one of the many points in which the Magyar nationality has become stronger during the last thirty years. In my case, certainly, a great deal of the information which I picked up during my residence and travel in the country I should not have acquired without a knowledge of the Hungarian language. Without it I should have been reduced to accepting the statements made directly to me; with it I was enabled to overhear the discussions of Hungarians amongst themselves,—at once a more instructive and more abundant source of information.

But besides the use a knowledge of the language has been to me in the way of enabling me to con-

verse with persons who either could not or would not speak German, I found—as no doubt any other Englishman would find—that an evident intention to acquire the national language was a passport to many circles into which I should otherwise have not been received at all, or at any rate less cordially.

At the same time I must admit that the practice of speaking a foreign language to foreigners does prevail to such an extent as to have been a very serious hindrance in the way of my acquiring the language. The Hungarians themselves say that they do so out of courtesy, a courtesy which many of them acknowledge to be ridiculously overstrained. In fact, vanity, a parade of education and fashion, are equally potent causes of this practice. In an out-of-the-way part of the country I was a guest in the house of a country gentleman who persisted in talking German to me, in spite of my assurances that I preferred him to talk Hungarian. In truth, the worthy squire spoke such execrable broken German that I could scarcely understand him. To prevent any possible misconception on the part of my readers, I should add that the chief use he made of the German language was to abuse the German Government.

In a preceding chapter on Hungarian society I have already mentioned some curious facts about the relation between a man's rank and political opinions, and his willingness or ability to speak Hungarian.

Indeed, to define the position of the Hungarian language in Hungary in a few words would be an exceedingly difficult task. I can only hope that the reader, when he lays down this volume, will have a tolerably correct idea on the subject. Before my first visit to the country I entertained a vague notion that the position of the Hungarian language in Hungary resembled that of Welsh in Wales. By this time my readers will have seen how wide such an idea was of the truth. Wales has no national theatre for the performance of plays in the Welsh language; Welsh is not the ordinary medium of communication between her country gentry, nor is it spoken at the quarter-sessions of the Principality. It is not even the language in which education is carried on, or in which lectures are given, in the superior educational establishments of the country. Mr. Sutherland Edwards begins his book on the *Russians at Home* by exploding a similar error respecting the position of Russian in Russia. At the same time his description of the position of the national language in Russia does not apply without modification to that of Hungarian in Hungary. The Russian nationality is at once more numerous and more compact than the Magyar. Whatever we may hope or fear for the future of the Magyar language, that of the Russian is assured.

Nevertheless Magyar is the language most extensively spoken in the dominions of the Hungarian

Crown, — from Presburg on the frontier of Lower Austria, to Kronstadt in the south-eastern corner of Transylvania, a distance of about ninety-two German geographical miles. Outside the boundary of the realm of St. Stephen it is only spoken by a few thousand peasants, in villages scattered through the Bukovina, Moldavia, and Wallachia, and by Hungarian emigrants in the commercial cities of Vienna and Bucharest. The conviction that it is only a national dialect, and not—to use a German expression—a "world language," is not confined to the cultivated classes. More than once, in the south and east of Transylvania, have Magyar toll-keepers, barmaids, etc. etc., expressed their surprise that I should have thought it worth my while to learn their national language. One of them, who had fled to Constantinople to escape the honvéd conscription in 1849, spoke with a certain contempt of his mother-tongue, as not being so widely diffused in the world as Italian. I should mention that this unpatriotic adventurer had wandered as far as Smyrna and Alexandria.

That the position and prospects of the Hungarian language have improved since the commencement of the century will be at once apparent when we take into consideration the royal family. The present Emperor-King is the first Hungarian sovereign since the disaster of Mohács (1526), who has been able to use the national language in his communications with

his Hungarian subjects. It was not till the reign of his predecessor, Ferdinand V., that that tongue succeeded in making its claims respected in the highest circles of society. Its real or supposed difficulty, joined to that monarch's feeble capacity, prevented his acquiring it himself. But, well-intentioned man that he was, he took care that his nephew and heir-presumptive, the Archduke Francis Joseph, should make it his own. This prince, while yet in that subordinate position, made a speech in Hungarian, when acting as royal commissioner at the installation of the lord-lieutenant of the county of Pest, on October 16th, 1847. It may well be imagined that the speech of the young Archduke—then only seventeen years of age—was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The Archduke Palatine, Joseph, who filled that office for full fifty years before his death on the 13th January, 1847, had in many ways contributed to the advancement of Hungarian literature and the Hungarian nationality, yet could never, with the best of wills, acquire the Magyar language. On one occasion he attempted a speech in that language in the House of Magnates; but he made such ludicrous mistakes as to throw that aristocratic and half-denationalized assembly into convulsions of laughter. Strange to say, Magyarism made one of its most important converts in the hour of its darkest trial. It was after 1849, when the absolutist centralizing system

of Prince Schwarzenberg and M. Bach was in full force, that the present Empress-Queen, by birth a Bavarian princess, determined to learn the language of the vanquished of Világos. That she has succeeded in doing so has gained for her a measure of popularity enjoyed by no member of the "gloriously-reigning house" since the days of Maria Theresa.

Although the Magyar language has gained ground since the beginning of the present century, it has, since the historical period, died out in many places where it was formerly spoken. This is especially true of Moldavia, where the compact Rouman element has assimilated the greater part of the descendants both of the old Kúns or Cumans, and of more recent Székel* immigrants from Transylvania. When, in his capacity as friend and ally of Louis XIV., Prince Francis Rákóczy II. sent his envoys into Bessarabia to mediate between the Czar Peter and Charles XII., they found there Magyar-speaking communities, of which not a trace now remains, only a century and a half later. Even in the time of Matthias Corvinus the devastations of the Ottomans had so far unpeopled the counties of Hungary south of the Maros, that that politic sovereign took thought for its repopulation by means of immigrants. Having learnt that a Turanian people were still to be found on the banks of the Volga, speaking a language nearly, if not quite,

* Transylvanian borderers of Magyar descent.

identical with the Hungarian, he asked permission of the Czar of Muscovy to transplant them to the country now called the Banat. The permission was given, when an unexpected difficulty arose. Matthias belonged to the Latin Church, the Czar to the Greek, and both were zealous for their own form of Christianity. The Turanians in question were still Pagans. The Czar insisted on their being baptized into the Orthodox Church, a concession which the Catholic Matthias was not willing to grant. Before this delicate question could be settled, the king died, and the project was dropped.

As I was once travelling on the Theiss Railway, across the Great Plain, I got into conversation with a fellow-traveller, a native of North Germany, who had often spent a few weeks of the summer in visiting a friend residing in Hungary. He had, however, never thought of learning the Magyar language. Finding that I was to some extent acquainted with it, he asked me what the Hungarians meant by calling it a new language, and talking about making it. Such questions are still more likely to be asked by an Englishman on hearing the same statements. In the days of Caxton and Sir Philip Sidney they would not have been so unintelligible to Englishmen. Our language was then in the same stage in which Hungarian is now. Such of my readers as are acquainted with the work which Lessing and his associates did

for the German language, will still better understand that of the Hungarian purists. The language has made so much progress since the beginning of the century, and especially since 1830, that a journalist told me that a servant-girl now speaks better Hungarian than a professor could have spoken when he was young. The reader who knows nothing of Hungarian would not be edified by a list of the new words which have been invented for the designation of new objects. It may be observed that a Hungarian lexicographer recently cited, as a cause of hope and congratulation, the great number of new words that had been formed and adopted into the language during the lifetime of the present generation. To this, however, a philological member of the Hungarian Academy quoted Professor Max Müller, to the effect that a rapid change in the vocabulary of a language was one of the clearest marks of the barbarous character of the people who spoke it.

The novelist who wrote under the pseudonym of "Vas Gereben" has, in his *Jurátus-élet*,* given us a vivid description of the struggle in social life between the adherents of Hungarian neologisms and culinary Latin. One of the former uses a very apt *argumentum ad hominem*, asking his friends, who corrupted the Magyar language with Latin roots, what they would think of one who should address Cicero, risen from

* "*Law-student Life.*"

the dead, with such Latinity as the following:—"*Diu hortyogávit, domine spectabilis Cicero, et si Hungáriam meglátogatábit, atyafiones találgaturus erit, kik szalonnám et paprikám solent falatozgatáre.*" . . . The reader who is ignorant of the Magyar language will require some explanation of such a barbarous lingo. "You have" (literally, "he has") "snored a long time, worshipful Master Cicero, and, if you will visit Hungary, you will find kinsmen who are in the habit of eating bacon and red pepper." . . . At the same time it is not a whit more barbarous than the specimen given of the Latin-Hungarian then in vogue among the *táblabírák* of the year '28:—"*Mit gondol, spectabilis urambátyám, ilyen conceptusu magyar stilusban conversato magyar orátort, nem citáltathatnánk meg fiscalis actioval, s nem jure merito sententiáznánk meg statariális rövidséggel, hogy a tertia generatiónak testamentaliter is meghagyja hogy memorizálja meg a magyar grammaticát; s ha phrasis kell neki, tanuljon a magyar poctákból diligentiát, vagy expediáltasson egy passust Plutohoz, és a pokolban vidimálják a börére, hogy repetálja meg a hungaricát, melyből secundánál jobb calculust nem érdemel? Az opinioját kérem, spectabilis urambátyám, ha nem incarnatus disputálo. A principium az én convictiom szerint a nyelvnek purificatiója. Ezt dencgálni józanul impossibilitas, s a mit spectabilis a diáknyelvnek praetendál, concedália a magunkénak is.*" "What do you think, worshipful

Master Uncle, of a Magyar orator who should converse in a Magyar style of such a sort? Might we not summon him to a legal prosecution, and justly sentence him, and that, too, with statarial* expedition, that he should in his testament enjoin (on his descendants) to the third generation that they should commit to memory the Magyar grammar, and, if he be in want of a phrase, let him learn repetition from the Magyar poets, or make out a passport to Pluto, and let them in the infernal regions impress it upon his skin that he should repeat the *hungarica*,† for which he will not deserve a better class than the second? I ask your opinion, worshipful Master Uncle, unless you are an incarnate disputant. The principal point, in my opinion, is the purification of the language. To deny this in one's sober senses is an impossibility; and what your worship claims for the Latin language do you concede to our own also."

In like manner M. Paul Gyulai, in his delightful sketch *Az első magyar komikus*, "The first Hungarian comedian," describes the irascible old man as quarrelling with the actors of a younger generation for using the neologisms *színház* for "theatre" and *színész* for "player." "'Ah! my younger brother,' he continued, raising his cane, with not exactly pacific

* See chapter xi. vol. i. p. 218.

† So the Hungarian grammar was called, which was taught in Latin up to the year 1840.

intentions, 'do not spoil the beautiful Hungarian language. *Szinház* * is as much as *kocsiszin* (coach-shed), *színész* as *kocsiszines:* ye are coachmen, my younger brother, ye are horses, ye are asses. *Theatrum* and *actor.—Punctum.*' † Then he told him how, in old times, the actors were noblemen, persons who had received a regular education, honest patriots, while now they are runaway school-boys, journeymen barbers, vagabonds.—*Punctum.*"

The magnates' and "quarter-magnates" were, however, by no means purists, though from feelings very different from those which actuated the patriotic old player. They are not particular what language they use to adulterate the national Turanian. At a boat-race I once heard one of them call out to the umpire, "*Miért nem sztártolja öket?*" ("Why don't you *start* them?") Certain political terms, such as "self-government," "indemnity," and the like, have been taken unchanged from the English into the Hungarian language. Indeed the latter lends itself so readily to such adulterations that I myself, when at a loss for the right Magyar word, while talking to friends who knew English, have, half unconsciously, made use of its English equivalent, providing it, for the nonce,

* Literally, "shed-house."

† This Latin word is very frequently used in Hungary to clinch an argument; as much as to say, "That is all that can be said on the subject."

with Hungarian terminations, or, more correctly speaking, suffixes.

Of the words expelled from their language by the Hungarian purists some few were French, many more German, but the great majority were Latin. It is interesting to observe that the sentence of expulsion has not been generally carried out against words of Slav origin. I have met isolated individuals who objected to the use of such words as *paszuly* (bean), and insisted on substituting the true Magyar word *bab*. Of course the reason of this difference in the fate of foreign words is that every educated person recognizes the German or Latin origin of a word, while the great majority of educated Hungarians are either entirely ignorant of, or but imperfectly acquainted with any Slav dialect. Thus the word *früstökölni* (to breakfast), from the German *Frühstück*, has been supplanted by the Hungarian *reggelizni*, while *ebédelni* (to dine), and *vacsorálni* (to sup), both words of Slav origin, have been retained.

It is worthy of remark that the lower classes, especially the peasantry in the remoter districts, have retained the use of many Latin and German words which the purists have almost, if not quite, succeeded in banishing from polite society. Such, for instance, are the above-cited *früstökölni; muszái*, from *muss sein*, learnt from the overbearing German mercenaries; *masina* (a match) from the Latin *machina;*

instálni (to beg), from the Latin *instare*, used instead of the proper Magyar word *kérni*. So, too, they use *szponzsia* instead of *szivacs* for a "sponge;" *contignácziós ház* instead of *emeletes ház* for a house having one or more stories above the ground-floor; *ámbitus* instead of *folyosó* for a passage. Every servant-girl not only understands but uses the word *persze* (of course, to be sure), yet it is really nothing more than an abbreviation of the Latin phrase *per se intelligitur*.

Besides the Latin, German, and Slav languages, Turkish has also contributed its quota to the present Hungarian vocabulary. One such contribution is sufficiently significant—the word *korbács* (a whip). At the same time we must observe some caution in attributing words common to the Turkish and Hungarian languages to the direct influence of the Osmanlis on the Magyars. Many of these words must be referred to the common stock of the Turanian family of languages, of which both Hungarian and Turkish are members. And this brings me to a consideration of the philological position of the Hungarian language. The refugees who came to England after 1849 were annoyed at finding that English gentlemen, otherwise well-informed, supposed their national language to be a Slav or even a German dialect. Since that time Professor Max Müller has popularized in England the expression "Turanian languages," and has told us that the Magyar is one of them. Its exact

position in the Turanian family, or rather class, is—in Hungary at least—a matter of some doubt. The question is, is the Hungarian more akin to the Turkish or to the Finnish? That it is more nearly related to the former is the popular opinion in Hungary, an opinion in which we cannot help perceiving traces of a feeling which, in an individual, would be called vanity. While the Seljukian and Ottoman Turks went forth conquering kingdoms, and gaining a bloody, but withal barren renown, the Finns dwelt inglorious amidst the forests and swamps of their almost inaccessible country. The Hungarians, with their constitutional weakness for display and vain-glory, consider it more to their credit to be related to the former than to the latter. The statistician, Fényes, speaks of the theory which assigns his countrymen to the same family as the Finns as an absurdity which could only find credence among such as, out of national hatred to the Magyars, would make them out kinsmen even of the Hottentots. Nor has M. Kossuth thought it unworthy of his reputation as an orator to stamp with his approval in a public speech this last outcome of mistaken national vanity. It is on the face of it absurd to suppose, as he does, that German philologists should be affected by such miserable petty considerations. That the Hungarian language is more nearly allied to the Finnic than to the Turcic branch of the Turanian or Ural-Altaic family of languages,

is the opinion of the great majority of philologists outside Hungary, and by this time, I believe, of the few to be found in that country itself. Indeed, when I remember, on the one hand, how little the Turks have done for humanity, and, on the other, that the Finns are a civilized, Christian, nay, Protestant people, with much more of literary originality than the Turks or even than the Magyars themselves, I should be inclined to reverse the preferences above alluded to. And if martial virtue is what the "hussar nation" more especially requires in its kinsmen, they may remember that the "iron Finns" were not the least glorious corps in the army of Gustavus Adolphus.

Apropos of the splenetic utterances of MM. Fényes and Kossuth, it may be further observed that the affinity between the languages of the Finns and the Hungarians was first pointed out by two Swedish *savants*, friends of the first nation, and certainly not enemies of the second. The theory was then taken up by the Hungarian Sajnovits, who travelled in Sweden and Norway to collect data for his work on the subject, *Demonstratio idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse.* Tyrnaviæ, 1770. A little later another Hungarian, Gyarmathi, published a book,* entitled *Affinitas linguæ hungaricæ cum linguis*

* His great merits as a philologist are heartily recognized by Professor Max Müller, in his letter on "The Last Results of the Researches respecting the Turanian Family of Languages," in Bunsen's *Philosophy of Universal History*, i. pp. 270, 271,

finnicæ originis. Gottingæ, 1799. In spite of the unscientific prejudices in favour of the Turkish connection, the attention of the few Hungarians whom the necessities of their country—poor in men, especially in educated men—can spare for a subject so mediately useful as philology, is being directed to the dialects of Finnland. M. Fábián has written a Finnish grammar for the use of Hungarians, and M. Hunfalvy has brought out a *Chrestomathia Fennica.* The latter philologist, indeed, considers the Magyar to occupy a middle position between the Finnish and Turkish languages. But a comparison of the points of agreement and disagreement of these three languages, collected by him and quoted in the introductory portion of M. Fábián's *Finn Nyelvtan*, would seem rather to prove that the Magyar agrees more with the Turkish than with the Finnish, and that the two latter approach nearest to each other on the very points in which they diverge from the Magyar. This is sought to be explained on two theories,—one, that the Magyars represent a group co-ordinate in importance, and intermediate in position, to the Finnic and Turcic; another that they are descendants of an Ugrian or Finnish horde, whose language had become affected by their long intercourse or admixture with Turkish neighbours. On the last hypothesis, the words common to the Turkish and Hungarian languages would be divided into three

classes,—such as are common to both the Finnic and Turcic groups of the Turanian family; words borrowed by the Magyars in pre-historic times from nameless Turkish hordes; words borrowed by them from the Osmanlis during the Turkish occupation of Southern and Central Hungary.

One thing which is worthy of remark with regard to these philological questions respecting the Turanian languages is, that the study of them has led enthusiasts not merely to place their lives in jeopardy, but even to shorten them by the excessive toils and privations undergone in their pursuit. Some of my readers may, perhaps, be acquainted with the fate of Castrén, the Finn philologist, who travelled from Lapland to the Lake Baikal, learning successively the languages of all the Turanian peoples that occupy that vast extent of territory. Some of them are amongst the most wretched of savages, and inhabit the most inclement regions of the world. His constitution was so ruined by the fatigues he had undergone that he died about three years after he returned. A like enthusiasm has carried more than one Hungarian *savant* into danger and privation, in his quest of the origin and kindred of his nation. The adventures of the last of them, Dr. Vámbéry, are well known to the English public. The fate of Reguly is less widely known; that of Csoma has had time to be forgotten. The last was a Székel of Transylvania,

who, when only eighteen years old, conceived the idea of travelling into Asia to discover the original habitat of the ancestors of the Magyars. A poor student at Enyed, one of the Calvinist colleges in Transylvania, he was early inured to the hardships which he had to undergo,—adventures in their way as daring as those of Cortez or Pizarro. With a capital of a hundred florins, and the promise of another hundred yearly, he plunged into the heart of Asia. Struck by the resemblance of a few words of Tibetan to the corresponding words of Magyar, he determined to master that language. He shut himself up for four years—from 1827 to 1830—in the Buddhist monastery of Kanan, in one of the valleys of the Himalayas. He soon discovered the illusory nature of the resemblance he thought he had perceived between the languages of Tibet and his native country; but he prosecuted his researches into Tibetan literature, in the hopes that it might throw light on the early history of the Turanian nations of Northern Asia, the ancestors and kinsmen of his own people. His disappointment, when he came down to Calcutta, and was there informed that the works he had read and translated were themselves translated from the Sanskrit, was so bitter as for the time to affect his health. He was employed by the Asiatic Society to catalogue their Tibetan books, and to prepare a grammar and dictionary of that language. But in 1842 he again

conceived the idea that the cradle of his people was to be found on the frontiers of China and Tibet, and instantly set out to explore it; but died at Darjeeling, in British India, on the 11th of April in that year.

While the enthusiastic Calvinist of Transylvania sought for the origin of the Hungarian nation in the far East, Reguly Antal (Antony Reguly) explored the romantic but inglorious North for the same purpose. Reguly was born near the Cistercian monastery of Zircz, in the county of Veszprém, 1819. When twenty years old he started for Finnland. From 1840 he spent about seven years learning Swedish, Russian, as well as the languages of the Ugrian tribes of the northern provinces of European Russia, including the Finns, Lapps, Esths, Syryanians, Mordvins, Tchermicians, Tchuvasses, Votyaks, Ostyaks, and Voguls. During his researches, prosecuted amidst the forests and deserts of these inhospitable regions, but seldom enjoying the moderate amount of luxury which some lonely convent of Russian monks might afford, Reguly so shattered his health as to be obliged to put himself under the hands of Priessnitz at Gräfenberg. From that time until his death in 1858 he was a confirmed invalid; his frequent infirmities seriously impeding the communication to his countrymen of the knowledge he had acquired. The Hungarian Academy entrusted the publication of his remaining papers to M. Hunfalvy.

There exist in English two grammars of the Hungarian language, neither of them to be very highly recommended. But any Englishman who may wish to acquire the Magyar language will probably be already acquainted with German, in which he will find a very excellent grammar by Dr. Mansuetus Riedl, sometime Professor of the Hungarian Language at the University of Prague, and now occupying the chair of Comparative Philology at Pest.

It is not often that many of the peculiarities of Magyar grammar come out when Hungarians speak foreign languages, but those that do are sufficiently startling. For instance, I have heard Hungarians use, both in English and German, the singular instead of the plural after numerals, or words necessarily implying plurality. This, however, gives rise to no ambiguities, such as are produced by their constant confusion of the genders of the third personal pronoun, ignoring, in fact, both the feminine and the neuter.

Dr. Ballagi observes, in the introduction to his Hungarian Grammar, that, "According to the assertions of strangers, the Magyar language is somewhat monotonous in sound, and here our own opinion is of no weight, since the most discordant and guttural of languages sounds harmonious in the ears of those to whom it is the mother-tongue." It is noticeable for the

balance which it maintains between the vowels and the consonants, being neither so vocalic as the Italian and Wallachian, nor so consonantal as the English, German, or Slav languages. It has an especial abhorrence of more than one consonant at the beginning of a word, and has thus been obliged to make great alterations in the words which it has taken from its Teutonic and Slavonic neighbours. At the same time it suffers from too great a predominance of the letter *k*, as also of syllables long by nature or position, especially of the former. Such spondaic lines as *Szívemnek legfelségesb bálványa* are of frequent occurrence. It is a decidedly soldierly language, and is well adapted for the purposes of oratory, especially of the epideiktic kind. What is said by many enthusiastic Magyars about its particular fitness for poetry and love-making,* is mere patriotic nonsense. Its terseness, however, is unquestionable. As an instance of this quality is frequently cited the phrase *legellenallhatlanabbaknak bizonyultak*, which in two words expresses what it takes German or English seven words to express: *Sie haben sich als die unwiderstehlichsten erweisen*,—"They have proved themselves the most irresistible." This instance, of course, approaches caricature, without, perhaps, actually reaching it; but the brevity of Hungarian is made evident by the diglott notices or proclamations which so often meet

* PAGET'S *Hungary and Transylvania*, vol. ii.

the eye of the traveller in Hungary. He will observe that the Magyar column is almost always shorter than the German.

But the greatest claim which Hungarian has to be learnt is its philological one. It is the most accessible of all the languages of the Turanian class. Turkish—at any rate the Turkish of Osmanli literature—is really a compound of three languages, each belonging to a different class: a Semitic language, Arabic; an Aryan language, Persian; and lastly, the original Turanian dialect, which the Seljukians and Osmanlis brought from Turkistan. Finnish, on the other hand, is geographically much less accessible than Hungarian; it lies much further from the beaten track of English tourists. Besides, most of the books required for its study are written in Swedish, while those required for the study of Hungarian are in German. My Magyar studies continually recalled to my mind Professor Max Müller's observations on the study of Turkish. "It is a real pleasure," says he, "to read a Turkish grammar, even though one may have no wish to acquire it practically. The ingenious manner in which the numerous grammatical forms are brought out, the regularity which pervades the system of declension and conjugation, the transparency and intelligibility of the whole structure, must strike all who have a sense of that wonderful power of the human mind which has displayed itself

in language." As this popular philologist observes, the process by which an artificial language has been made is, in the Aryan languages, obscure and difficult to be traced. "They stand before us like solid rocks, and the microscope of the philologist alone can reveal the remains of organic life with which they are built up. In the grammar of the Turcic languages, on the contrary, we have before us a language of perfectly transparent structure, and a grammar the inner workings of which we can study, as if watching the building of cells in a crystal beehive."* Indeed, an intelligent study of Magyar can hardly fail to correct many narrow prejudices on the subject of languages derived from old-fashioned Greek and Latin grammars.

At the same time, Magyar, like Finnish and the Turkish of Constantinople, has, in consequence of its historical civilization and literary culture, become somewhat more ornate, complicated, and traditional than is the case with the great mass of the languages belonging to the Turanian class. As the same author observes of Finnish, "this early literary cultivation has not been without a powerful influence on the language. It has imparted permanency to its forms, and a traditional character to its words, so that at first sight we might almost doubt whether the grammar of this language had not left the agglutinative stage and entered into the current of inflexion with Greek

* *Lectures on the Science of Language*, p. 343, 5th edition.

and Sanscrit. The agglutinative type, however, still remains, and its grammar shows a luxuriance of grammatical combinations second only to Turkish and Hungarian."

Some theorists, German and Slav, pretend that the Turanian character of Hungarian dooms it to extinction. Its position as an isolated member of the Turanian family in the midst of the Aryan area makes it a glossological curiosity. It is the only non-Aryan language in Europe which is the vehicle of a living Christian progressive literature in this nineteenth century. It is the only Turanian language in which parliamentary discussions of European importance are carried on. It is true that the debates of the Diet of the Grand Duchy of Finnland are carried on in Finnish as well as in Swedish and Russian, but then they can hardly be said to be of European importance. It is this exceptional position of the Hungarian language which makes it of so much interest. The Hungarians often talk vaguely, not to say unintelligibly, about their "mission" as mediators between the East and the West. There is, however, some real truth in the assertion, if we understand it to mean that the Magyars are at present trying the experiment whether a language, which is not one of the small number of the recognized languages of civilization, can be made a permanent channel of communication between civilized men, the

organ of a progressive literature. They are trying the experiment under peculiar difficulties: their numbers are few, their geographical position disadvantageous. They may ultimately fail; the Magyar language may fall into disuse. But that the experiment should have been carried on for any length of time, and with a certain measure of partial success, will be a source of instruction, if not of encouragement, to many nations now held barbarous or half-civilized.

Some recent writers in England, of whom Dr. McCausland may be taken as a typical specimen, regard the Turanian character of a language as a mark of the ethnological inferiority of the people who speak it. This view is essentially superficial and unscientific. In the first place, a language affords but very uncertain indications of the descent of those who speak it. No African dialect has maintained itself either in North or South America, or in any of the West India islands, amongst the many millions of trans-Atlantic negroes. Many of the American aborigines speak, with more or less purity, the neo-Latin dialects of Castile and Portugal. On the other hand, the handful of mountaineers who, in the secluded valleys of the Western Pyrenees, have preserved the isolated Euscarian language, are physically undistinguishable from their Gascon and Spanish neighbours. Yet their language is the despair of philologists, who have nowhere discovered any other akin to it. It

were a very hasty theory that would pronounce on the blood-relationship of all the European and Asiatic peoples who speak languages belonging to the great Aryan family. So far as any statement in ethnology can be considered certainly proved, it is that many natives of India, who are Aryan in speech, can claim no kindred with the original Aryan invaders of that country. Why may not the same thing be true of Europe also? A handful of comparatively civilized invaders may have introduced an Aryan dialect from Asia Minor into Europe, which in process of time diffused itself, by conquest or commerce, amongst the non-Aryan races of Europe, from Ireland to the Peloponnese. In this case the English and the Bengalees would no more belong to one ethnological race than do the Spanish-speaking Indians and Negroes of Lima. Like these last the English and their Hindoo fellow-subjects may have derived their Aryan speech from a people who were not the physical ancestors of either of them.

But there is yet another fact which seems to have escaped the notice of the theorists alluded to above. It is that all philologists qualified to express an opinion on the subject are agreed that the languages of the Aryan family are derived from a language which, by its construction, belonged to the Turanian class. In fact the distinction between the Turanian, or agglutinative, and the Aryan, or inflexional methods

of expressing the mutual relations of words in a sentence, is, in its nature, one of degree, the latter being merely a development or corruption of the former. So difficult is it to draw the line between the agglutinative and inflected classes of languages that two of the authorities on this subject, Kellgrén and Boller, placed the Finnish, if not the Magyar and Turkish languages, in the latter class. At any rate the possession of an inflexional system of grammar is no proof of superior intellectual power, as these theorists seem to suppose. Were it so, how lamentably have we degenerated from our ancestors of the days of Cerdic and Ina!

The Hungarians imagine themselves to be great linguists, which they attribute to the difficulty of their own language. In like manner the Russians and the Dutch entertain similar theories respecting their own linguistic attainments. That these three nations learn foreign languages readily, and that individuals among them attain to a high degree of perfection as linguists, I am willing to admit. But that this is the result of the difficulty of their respective tongues—of which, by the way, no two are allied—I can the more slowly believe, as I have never been able to discover in what this alleged difficulty consists. Assuredly few languages are more difficult for a foreigner than French or than our own English,

Which twists and thwarts the stammering stranger's tongue.

Yet no one has accused these two nations of acquiring foreign languages with too great facility.

The simple truth of the matter is that, like the Dutch and the Russians, the Hungarians have a great deal to do with foreigners, while of these but very few ever take the trouble to acquire the Hungarian language. Persons belonging to these smaller or more backward nations begin, while still very young, to study the languages of their neighbours, customers, school-masters, and sometimes advance so far as to know them better than their own native tongues. It is generally supposed that the Slavonic race has a peculiar aptitude for learning. This opinion is based on the excellent French spoken by the higher classes of the Poles and Russians. The Hungarians hold an exactly opposite opinion, because the Tchekh and Polish officials, who occupied Hungary under the government of Bach, did not succeed in learning Hungarian well. As they were all grown men, who had finished their studies before they entered Hungary, this is not to be wondered at.

A friend of mine once said that the reason why the "Germans"—*i.e.* the bureaucratic instruments of the Viennese Government, — could not "civilize" Hungary, was, because the language was too hard for them, and as they did not learn it, they could not penetrate to the heart of the people. This, of course, as stated, is an exaggeration, and, indeed, was half

meant for a joke. At the same time it does hint at real facts, such as that one main obstacle to the germanization of Hungary was the self-conceited, pedantic, professional, in one word, unpopular tone of mind, of so many of the German officials. Besides, it is in vain that we argue about the mutual antipathies and divergent interests of the Hungarian gentry and their peasantry. The possession of a common language, and its habitual use, were necessarily the origin of many common prejudices, and united them against the foreigner, who, as he came into the country already a grown man, could never succeed in speaking it like a native.

CHAPTER XXIII.

HUNGARIAN LITERATURE.

Hungarian Exaggerations—The Hungarian Language in Past Centuries—Protestant Exiles—Joseph II.—The Noble Guard—Statesmen and Poets—Petőfi—Unoriental Character of Hungarian Literature—Obstacles to its Progress—Smallness of Reading Public—Its Recent Origin—Want of Literary Cultivation—Newspapers—Poverty of the Country—Patriotism—Protection in Literature—Science—Competition of Foreign Literatures—The Hungarian Academy—Kisfaludy Society—The Censorship of the Press—The Provincial Position of the Country.

THE peculiarity of the Hungarians which most forcibly strikes English travellers in that country,—unless, indeed, they confine their intercourse to the highest and most cultivated classes,—is their exaggerated idea of their own importance in Europe. They are continually placing themselves in the same rank with France and England. This is conspicuous in many points, and not least so in respect of their literature; upon which subject I propose to say a few words. The Hungarians have so often found the truth of the proverb "*possunt quia posse videntur*,"

that they are, to say the least of it, disposed to exaggerate the efficiency of misrepresentation, and even self-deception, as a means of tiding over present difficulties, and acquiring future advantages.

The character of a literature and its fortunes are, from the nature of the case, intimately connected with those of the language in which it is written. The foregoing chapters of this book have given the reader an idea of the anomalous position of the language, the result of the anomalous position of the country during the last three centuries and a half. During the Middle Ages Latin was used for most of the purposes of literature and politics. Indeed, from the year 1098 until the period of the Reformation, it appears to have been continually gaining ground on the national language. In the year 1[illegible] the terrors of the law were required to compel the Catholic clergy to learn Latin; in the beginning of the present century the difficulty was to induce them to learn Hungarian. One of the most lamentable, because irremediable, consequences of this neglect of the language is the loss of its earliest written monuments. The earliest specimens of the Magyar language which we now possess are two funeral sermons from the beginning of the thirteenth century. Yet the language must have received no small amount of culture before that time, since it appears that the laws of the realm were originally drawn up in Hungarian. They were, how-

ever, translated into Latin by a certain Albricus, about the end of the eleventh century, and the originals have since been lost. After the two funeral sermons follows *The Life of the Holy Virgin Margaretha*, written at the end of the thirteenth century, and published after a copy of the sixteenth century.

Fortunately for the language, the rise of Protestantism, and the invention of printing, coincided with the period of the lowest political depression of the country. In the year 1533—seven years after the disaster of Mohács—appeared the first printed book in the Hungarian language, a translation of St. Paul's Epistles, by Benedict Komjáthi. Characteristically enough it was printed out of Hungary, at Cracow. In my visits to the libraries of the colleges of the Reformed, I was struck with the large proportion of early Hungarian printed books, which were the productions of foreign presses. This was the consequence of the great dispersion abroad of Hungarian Protestants flying from the persecution of the princes of the House of Habsburg. Protestantism benefited the Magyar language, not merely by the attention which its own apostles and teachers bestowed upon it as a means of gaining converts from the great mass of the Magyar people, but also by compelling the adherents of Catholicism to do the same in self-defence. From this source arose the translations of the Bible by Heltai, Károlyi, Molnár, and Káldi, the

metrical versions of the Psalms used in the churches of the Reformed, and the controversial works of the great Cardinal-Primate Peter Pázmán, the intellectual leader of the counter-Reformation.

But with the decline of religious controversy, the national language fell again into desuetude. The literary class formed, as it were, a caste of their own, having but little connection with the life of the people. Although, here and there, individual voices—such as that of the singer of "The Siren of Adria," Count Nicholas Zrinyi (1651)—made themselves heard, the Hungarian literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had but very little influence on the literature of the present day; and in 1796 a certain Behamb could write, with but too much truth, "At the present day the Hungarian language is so much despised that, with the exception of a few ballads, and some publications relating to divine worship, no monument of it will go down to posterity."

The greatest benefactor to the Hungarian literature was a man who appeared to be its greatest enemy—the Emperor Joseph II. This crowned philanthropist determined to tear down the wall of partition between the people and their rulers, which existed in the form of a dead language used in the tribunals and Government offices. It is true that he proposed to substitute in its place the German, and not the Magyar, which last he was led to suppose by the denationalized Hun-

garian courtiers to be already doomed to extinction. The attempt, however, to force German upon the people came to an end when he died. The impulse given to men's minds by his violent and premature measures of reform survived him. At that time German literature, under the leadership of Lessing, his associates and successors, had just struggled into life. The example of their neighbours had its effect upon the Hungarians. Strange to say, the impulse was primarily communicated by members of a class from whom we should have least expected it. Maria Theresa, by way of showing her gratitude for Hungarian loyalty, and, at the same time, advancing her scheme of germanizing her Magyar subjects, had instituted the so-called "noble guard," composed exclusively of Hungarian noblemen. Among these men—whose only duty it was to mount guard in the palace of their sovereign in a splendid and picturesque uniform, surrounded by the temptations of a luxurious and unintellectual capital, and separated from the mass of their fellow-countrymen by aristocratic privileges—were found a select few on whom the spectacle of foreign superiority produced feelings neither of despair nor of self-contempt, but of generous rivalry. One of these was Révay, who composed a Hungarian grammar.

Since that time Hungarian literature has developed itself in many directions, and it is with a certain

feeling of justifiable exultation that Hungarian patriots point to this development. My readers would be not much instructed, and still less amused, by a long list of unknown authors in an unknown tongue. Sir John Bowring, in his introduction to his *Poetry of the Magyars*, published in 1830, has given us a condensation of M. Toldy's account of Hungarian literature up to that time. I would here content myself by pointing out, as the landmarks of the literature of the present century, the four poets Berzsenyi, Vörösmarty, Petöfi, and Arany. A Hungarian critic has paired them respectively with the politicians Paul Nagy, Count Stephen Széchenyi, Lewis Kossuth, and Francis Deák. The first pair represent the earliest movements of awakened patriotism ashamed of its long slumber, passionately lashing contemporary sloth and cowardice, yet itself well nigh despairing of the future. The second represent the period of organization and development which extended from 1823 to 1848. Kossuth and Petőfi, on the other hand, like two meteor lights, were intimately connected with, and fitly represent the inconsiderate self-devotion and courage of the War of Independence of 1848-49; as Deák and Arany do that patient, stubborn endurance of misfortunes, which is equally a characteristic of their countrymen.

In original genius Petőfi must be allowed to have surpassed the poets with whom I have associated

him. Several attempts have been made to transplant his beauties into other languages. The extreme simplicity of Hungarian poetry, more especially of that of Petöfi, renders such a task exceedingly difficult. Perhaps the best idea of him may be obtained from some versions in French prose which appeared in the *Révue Européenne* for February 1 and March 15, 1860, and in the *Révue de Deux Mondes* for 1863.

Both Hungarians and strangers have written a great deal of vague nonsense about the "oriental," or, as they sometimes express it, "Asiatic" character of the Magyars and their language. But the absurdity of these vague assertions about Hungarian orientalism is nowhere so evident as when we come to treat of their literature. M. Emeric Szabad, in the preface to his translation of a selection of M. Jókai's short tales, thinks it necessary to warn the English reader that "it would be a mistake to imagine, from the Eastern origin of the Magyars, that the tales and romances in the Hungarian language bear any resemblance to the *Arabian Nights*, or the familiar poetry of the East in general." This is to the full as absurd as if a Turk or a Finn were to say, "Although the English is an Aryan language, it must not be supposed that the poems of Shakspeare and Milton are composed on the models of the Rig-Veda and the Mahabharata." Indeed the former caution is even more absurd than would be the latter. The Hungarian language is, like

the Finnish, connected with those of Mongolia and Turkistan, as English is with Persian and Sanscrit; but neither of them has any connection with the language in which the *Arabian Nights* were written, the language of the people most naturally called up in our minds by the words "Orientals" and "the East."

It is, however, essential for the friends of Hungarian literature to fix their attention not only on the bright but also on the dark side of its present condition and future prospects. In estimating the probability of Hungarian literature taking hereafter a higher position in the world than it has hitherto done, we must bear in mind that, however difficult first steps may proverbially be, it is the latest and last stages of improvement which are most often missed both by nations and individuals. Every agriculturist knows that, although ploughing twice or thrice will increase the produce of his fields, it will not double or treble it.

Some of the causes of the present weaknesses and imperfections of Hungarian literature may here be noticed.

The first, though perhaps not the most serious, is the want of a sufficiently large reading public. A very slight acquaintance with Hungary showed me that what its literature wants is not so much writers as readers, and the longer I lived in the country the more I was impressed with this truth. Three causes

can be assigned for the smallness of the public which read Hungarian authors. They are the actual numerical smallness of the nation; the want of education among the people; and, lastly, the absence of reading habits among the educated classes.

On the first I would observe that the non-Magyar nationalities are, as such, to be at once withdrawn from that public. Indeed I believe that few things would so certainly tend to elevate Hungarian literature as the complete magyarization of these nationalities, especially of the two most civilized — the sporadic German colonists, and the compact mass of Slovacks in the north-west.

But from the Magyar nationality itself it is evident that large deductions must be made. It is true that the Magyars are further advanced in respect of primary education than the three nationalities which belong to the Greek Church, whether Orthodox or United. They are further advanced than the poverty-bitten Slovacks themselves. On the other hand the useful arts of reading and writing are not so generally diffused among them as among the Germans, or the Israelite portion of the population. In these two respects, however, we may anticipate an improvement. The importance of teaching the national language to such of their fellow-subjects as are still ignorant of it is recognized by all Hungarian patriots; and as for primary education, they seem to me to exaggerate the

benefits to be derived from its extension and improvement. There still remains the third cause limiting the numbers of the public which read Hungarian books—the absence of reading habits among all classes of society.

Of course I am here speaking comparatively. Reading a great number of books is characteristic of a particular stage of civilization. Some writers seem to think it incompatible with a free public life, at any rate when combined with an aristocratic or partially aristocratic organization of society. However that may be, it is certain that no class in Hungary reads as much as a corresponding class in England. Nor is the *táblabíró* prejudice against buying books, as though it were a wasteful and foolish expenditure of money which might be better laid out, even now extinct. Yet a change has already taken place. Vas Gereben * ludicrously asserts the difference between 1830 and 1866, that now they have not got so far as to *buy* books, but then they would not even *steal* them. The smallness of Hungarian libraries is, of course, further explained by the extreme want of cash which still afflicts so many of their best patriots. As for

* In his *Juratus-élet*, "Law-student Life." This author died in 1868. His novels have no merit as works of art, and are withal deficient in interest, but they have a value for students of history as pictures of Hungarian society during this century, in some respects truer and more instructive than those furnished by writers of greater natural talents and superior education.

circulating libraries, several causes, amongst which must be included the wide extent of the country, and its imperfect means of communication, prevent them from developing themselves so much as in England. Those English readers who are acquainted with Germany will find much of what I have said above applicable to that country also; but I have met Hungarians of intelligence and culture, who were personally acquainted with non-Austrian Germany, very much struck with the difference between that country and their own. All the Austrian populations spend so large a proportion of their incomes on animal gratification and ostentatious display that they have necessarily less to spend on the productions of literature and art. The smallness of the reading public causes books to be proportionally dearer than in England. This again tends to limit the reading public, the two circumstances acting and reacting on each other.

The foregoing remarks especially refer to the quantity of Hungarian literature produced, but its deficiencies in point of quality still require to be noticed and explained. A great deal of it does not profess to belong to the highest kind of literature, and what does make such a profession often falls far short of it. The English reading public at the beginning of the last century was as small as that which reads Hungarian at the present day. Yet no candid

critic would compare the whole body of English literature then in existence with that of modern Hungarian. The reasons of this difference are not far to seek: they are the very recent origin of the latter; the want of literary cultivation in that residuum of the population of Hungary which forms the public of a Hungarian author; and, lastly, the enfeebling influence and dangerous rivalry of foreign literatures. These three, or rather four, causes, are so intimately connected with each other that it is difficult to determine the relations of cause and effect between them.

Hungarian literature is especially unfortunate in that its present immature stage of development is synchronous with democratic bustle, railways, and the daily press. Men run to and fro on the earth, their attention fixed upon immediate results, and what they have read yesterday they will have forgotten to-morrow,—in many cases it were scarcely untrue to say that they intend to forget it. These influences tend to tempt many writers, by nature worthy of better things, to haste and slovenliness, to aim at quantity rather than quality, at producing a momentary effect, rather than a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. The intense interest felt by the Hungarians in politics, and the free public life traditional among them, have contributed to throw the literary energy of the country into the columns of the political journals.

Newspapers fill in Hungarian literature the position which, according to Mr. Sutherland Edwards, reviews occupy in Russia. Indeed in Hungary, to say of any one that he is a man of letters, would imply that he was a journalist. The most fertile of Hungarian novelists is the editor of an Opposition newspaper. Its Ministerial rival is edited by Baron Sigismund Kemény, himself the author of several historical romances. In its columns may often be found articles by one of the first of living Hungarian critics, who has shown, in a collection of short tales, a genius which I regret to see wasted on the barren wildernesses of ephemeral political controversy. Nay, in that political and unscientific country, a grammarian or a philologist does not feel at ease until he either edits a political newspaper or obtains a seat in the Diet. On the other hand, it is with difficulty that the sole representative of our quarterly reviews and monthly magazines, the *Buda-Pesti Szemle*, can find subscribers enough to justify its continuing to appear.

Nor do party politics alone compete but too successfully for the occupation of men's minds with pure literature. Count Stephen Széchenyi, and the tendencies of the age, have impressed upon the Hungarian movement a somewhat materialistic, and, in the lower and more limited sense of the word, industrial character. Injurious as this may be to the immediate, if not ultimate prospects of the national

literature, it cannot well be found fault with. Hungary is in the difficult—I had almost written hopeless—position of a man who, poor and uneducated, seeks, at the same time, both culture and riches. Nations, like individuals, must first fill their pockets before improving their manners or their minds.

But there is yet another feature in the recent history of Hungary which has operated unfavourably on the development of her literature. In it, as the historian, M. Michael Horváth, very truly observes, patriotism plays a larger part than in any other. Indeed patriotism was the motive that impelled many modern Hungarian authors, such as Francis Kazinczy and the elder Kisfaludy, to the pursuit of literature. Had this motive, this passion not existed, there might be now no Magyar literature at all. In other respects, however, it is obvious that this was rather a disadvantage to it than otherwise. The greatest productions of literature and art have not been those which were produced of set purpose and to effect some external object, whether moral, political, or religious, but rather those which were the spontaneous outcome of the artist's soul, in which art itself was its own end. Neither Petrarch nor Dante wrote for the purpose of enriching and ennobling the dialect of Tuscany; nor was the motive which urged Shakspeare to compose either sonnets or plays a design to render Elizabethan England glorious.

Besides this want of spontaneity, the consciously patriotic origin of Hungarian poetry, drama, and prose fiction impresses on them a certain monotony of sentiment. This may not be perceived, or, if perceived, may not be disagreeable to the village squires and country attorneys who form the nucleus of the Hungarian reading public. They are men who, from want of education, or from want of time, or from national prejudice, are seldom acquainted with other literatures than their own. It is, however, perceived and objected to, not only by foreigners like myself, but also by the higher classes of Hungarians who have literary tastes, and, in consequence of the polyglott education in vogue in Eastern Europe, are in the habit of reading foreign books.

Nor does the baneful influence of patriotism stop here. In their zeal, sincere or affected, for the national cause, many Magyar *littérateurs* devoted themselves to gratifying the tastes or satisfying the wants of women, children, and other classes not amenable to the influences of literature of the highest kind, so that annuals and fancy bindings occupy an exceedingly visible portion of a Hungarian bookseller's shop. This in itself would not have been injurious to the literary prospects of the country, if an unenlightened patriotism, often the tool of individual selfishness or vanity, had not stepped in to stamp these journeymen of letters as "patriots." After the capitulation of

Világos, when the nation lay bleeding and disarmed at the feet of its conquerors, the cry was raised, "Only the language will save us." Every one who wrote anything in the national language was supposed, on this theory, to have proved himself a benefactor to his country,—not to say a martyr in her cause. Many an honest but uncritical squire thought it his bounden duty to buy a copy of every Hungarian book that came out. I suspect, however, that but few thought it necessary to undergo the penance of reading one quarter of them. The patronage of such a public, peculiarly open to the arts of that patriotism which Dr. Johnson described as "the last refuge of a scoundrel," was, of course, more injurious to the literature it patronized than the severest, even the unfairest, criticism. It is a striking proof of the tendency of the human mind to be blinded by protectionist fallacies, that many Hungarians, who are very far from being uneducated, and by no means wanting in shrewdness, failed to perceive this truth.

The subject of education, especially of higher scientific education, is certainly distinct from that of literature. But here, too, Hungarian patriotism, and its exaggerated suspicions, have exercised an injurious effect. It is so plainly evident that the surest and most speedy way to introduce new science into a country as yet ignorant of it, is to invite its professors from foreign lands to take up their residence

there, that it has been followed by every nation intending to civilize itself, from the ancient Romans to the modern Russians. Spain and England, France and Prussia, have all done so with signal advantage. But nowhere, perhaps, has this system been so persistently carried out as in Russia, where the natives complain that Russian extraction is almost considered an absolute disqualification for a professorial chair. This may be—if true, perhaps is—a fault, but it is a fault on the right side. Hungary is the most conspicuous exception to this general rule. This may be partly explained by the smallness of the funds which Hungary is able or willing to apply to educational purposes, which precludes them from obtaining the highest foreign talent. But an equally, nay, more effective cause, is the intense irritability and suspicion of Hungarian patriotism, produced by many centuries of struggle for existence.

Whatever Hungarian literature may have been in former centuries, it is not at present the creature of either aristocratic or court patronage. Indeed, the idea of such patronage is at variance with the prevailing tendencies of the nineteenth century, and the democratic feelings of the best Hungarian authors. It is, besides, excluded by the denationalized character of the wealthiest Hungarian aristocrats. At first sight this may appear inconsistent with what I have stated in previous chapters about the re-magyarization of

Hungarian magnates. But from the very nature of things it follows that a process so recent must be necessarily still incomplete. A Hungarian aristocrat speaks Magyar, it is true, but he does so from considerations of duty or of interest. It is with him not a natural, instinctive habit, but the result of deliberation more or less conscious. If this is the case in speaking, how much more so in reading. I myself have met with persons of that class, who almost avowedly opened a new Hungarian book *contre cœur*, and with a foregone conclusion against its literary merits. A Transylvanian countess, who, from her geographical position, was necessarily perfectly familiar with the national language and accustomed to its use from childhood, told me that she never read more than three or four Hungarian books in a year, because they were seldom, if ever, worth reading: and there are many who do the same from the same motive. Yet ladies of their rank are often great readers, but then they read French, English, or even the much-decried German.

I merely state these facts without wishing to be understood to imply that aristocratic patronage were desirable. What, to some extent, replaces the patronage of individual dynasts is that of the collective patriotism of the nation, acting through the Hungarian Academy. This institution, founded and supported by voluntary subscription, and a large recipient of

legacies, not only judges and pronounces on the literary or scientific value of books which appear in the Hungarian language, but assists their publication by grants of money, as also by giving prizes for certain forms of literary industry, especially that of the drama. Some discontented spirits, however, complain that its assistance is merely the old evil of aristocratic patronage in a new form, inasmuch as the governing council of the Academy is, to a great extent, composed of *dilettanti* and great nobles. Besides the Academy, which is regarded as a national institution, and extends its patronage over the whole field of literature and science, there is a private association which devotes itself to the encouragement of Hungarian *belles lettres*. It is entitled *Kisfaludy-Társaság*, "Kisfaludy Society;" it is named after the younger poet of that family, Károly or Charles. It was established in 1836, for the purpose, as M. Horváth tells us, of keeping up the standard of literary taste, and maintaining the purity of the language, which were at that time suffering from the very sudden expansion of national life. Besides encouraging the composition of original works, it has brought out several translations from foreign languages. To show how wide is the circle which commands Magyar sympathy and admiration, I may mention that, among the works translated, are not only many English and French books, such as George Eliot's *Adam Bede*,

but also Pushkin's *Anyégin*, and a collection of Esthonian popular songs.

The greater part of this chapter has been taken up with an exposition of the causes why Hungarian literature has not as yet taken the highest rank in Europe, and of the difficulties in the way of its doing so in the future. At the same time I would not wish to convey to any of my readers a depreciatory estimate of it. The catalogue of the works, either original or translated, of the members of the Hungarian Academy during the last twenty or twenty-five years, exhibits a great amount of intellectual activity and literary industry; and here it may not be out of place to remind Englishmen that the collection of Magyar books in the library of the British Museum is the largest in the world out of Hungary.

Besides the causes tending to depress Hungarian literature which I have already enumerated, a Magyar friend of mine, himself an author, assigned an additional one, which I have not yet noticed, to wit, the unsatisfactory state of his country in respect of national independence for the last three centuries and a half. This unsatisfactory position, in his opinion, prevented Hungarian authors from expressing their real thoughts, from giving full vent to the emotions of their souls, their utterances being hampered by considerations of political caution. Like all Hungarians he probably attached too great an importance

to causes purely political. For my own part, I very much doubt whether the censorship of the press has by itself ever exercised a permanently depressing influence on any literature. The Austrian censorship of the press not only could be, but actually was, evaded, both by Magyar and German writers, by the simple and easy expedient of a journey to Leipsic. In such esteem were smuggled books held in Austria before 1848, that when Prince Metternich's Government wanted to produce an impression on public opinion, it had a book written and published abroad, and then forbade its admission into the empire. Besides which, Hungary has for the last twenty years enjoyed the advantage of a large political emigration, whose members might, in many cases did, write books without having the fear of the Austrian police before their eyes. At the same time the provincial, or quasi-provincial, position of the country did, in my opinion, exercise an injurious influence on its literature, although in a different way. It did so by lowering the ideal of its greatest authors, and impressing on its literature what Mr. Matthew Arnold would call the "note of provinciality." Let us hope that the new political organization of the country, by increasing its independence and consolidating and extending the Magyar nationality, may lay the foundation of a new "world-literature" in this little-known Turanian dialect.

CHAPTER XXIV.

TRANSYLVANIA.

Mr. Boner's Book on this Country — Transylvania compared with Switzerland—Its three Nationalities and three Political Nations—Its Past History—Partition of the Hungarian Kingdom—A Miniature Poland—Mutual Relations of the three Political Nations—Transylvanian Diet—Position of the Roumans—Union of Hungary and Transylvania—Annulled by the Austrian Government—Renewal of the Union—Peculiarities of Transylvanian Character—*Terra Incognitior.*

A FEW years ago (1865) there appeared an exhaustive account of Transylvania from the pen of Mr. Charles Boner. Although in the present and following chapters I shall have to treat of the same portion of the country as he described, we shall not often traverse the same ground. His book displayed a liveliness of description, combined with an amount of artistic and antiquarian knowledge and a painstaking attention to minute statistics, which I cannot but admire and envy. At the same time his political views were, in my opinion, erroneous, and I may perhaps be allowed to say that they have since been practically refuted

by the "logic of facts." But the diversity of our views on the subject is, in a great measure, to be explained by the fact that he treated Transylvania as a whole, or, at any rate, as a portion of the Austrian empire co-ordinate with Hungary, whereas I regard it merely as a portion of that kingdom. He took the view then held by the Viennese Government and the majority of the Austrian Reichsrath. My view was that taken by the Transylvanian Magyars with whom I came in contact. When I asked them how they proposed to themselves to resist the coalition of the Viennese Ministry, the Saxons, and the Roumans, they answered, "It is of comparatively little importance what we do or do not do; sooner or later the German Government must come to an understanding with our brethren in Hungary, and then they will be sure to take care of us also." And so it has since turned out.

Transylvania occupies in the East of Europe a geographical position presenting many analogies to that of Switzerland in the West. It is a cluster of mountains and valleys, whence issue the rivers that water the surrounding lowlands of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Eastern Hungary. Like Switzerland it is inhabited by three nationalities, speaking three distinct languages, the Magyars, the Saxons, and the Roumans or Wallachs. The last-named are the original inhabitants of the country, being the descen-

dants of the ancient Dacians, romanized by Trajan's conquest. The Magyars or Hungarians conquered Transylvania at the same time that they possessed themselves of Pannonia, in the ninth century. They found a kindred people already settled on its eastern or Moldavian frontier, with whom they at once fraternized. This people called itself in its own language *Székely* or *Székel*, in Latin *Siculus;* the Germans call them *Szekler*. The Saxons are the descendants of German colonists, chiefly from the Lower Rhine, who were brought into the country by the mediæval kings of Hungary.

The position of Transylvania and its *Voivode*, or Governor, during the Middle Ages, is somewhat obscure; but it is, at any rate, certain that the country was always considered an integral portion of the Hungarian kingdom. When that kingdom was broken to pieces by the invasion of the Osmanlis, under Solyman the Magnificent, in 1541, Transylvania constituted itself a vassal principality under the suzerainty of the Sublime Porte, occupying a position similar to that of the Hospodarates of Moldavia and Wallachia. Its internal constitution was based upon a league for mutual defence entered into by the three political nations,—the Magyars, the Székels, and the Saxons. This league had been formed in 1432 on account of the continual incursions of the Turks, assisted by Vlád, voivode of Wallachia.

From 1541 until 1688 the kingdom of Hungary was split up into three parts. Croatia, the western counties of Hungary adjoining the German frontier, and the larger half of the sub-Carpathian districts of the North, were in the possession of the princes of the House of Habsburg, at that time Emperors of Germany. These princes, from Ferdinand I. to Leopold I., were crowned with the Holy Crown, and considered themselves *de jure* sovereigns of the whole realm of St. Stephen. The central plains of Hungary on either side of the Danube were governed directly by a Turkish pasha whose seat was at Buda, having several dependent pashas and agas under him. Eger (Erlau), Veszprém, and Győr (Raab) were occupied by Turkish garrisons. Transylvania, and the adjoining eastern and north-eastern counties of Hungary, were governed by princes elected by the Transylvanian Diet and confirmed by the Sublime Porte. They styled themselves *Princeps Transylvaniæ, partis Regni Hungariæ Dominus et Siculorum Comes.* Their territories were conterminous with those of the Habsburgs in the sub-Carpathian districts, where the line of frontier was drawn sometimes eastward, sometimes westward, according as the fortunes of war favoured the Germans and Catholicism, or the Osmanlis and Protestantism. The accompanying map will place in a clearer light this partition of Hungary. At the same time, it must be remembered that the internal boundaries were con-

tinually shifting; those represented show the territory governed by the Turkish pashas at its furthest extent. Thus Debreczin and Grosswardein were often included in the Principality of Transylvania, and many places within the Turkish bounds were held by them but for a very short time. Buda and Temesvár were the residences of superior pashas, while those marked by a single line gave their names to the *sandjaks*, among whom the Turks divided the conquered country.

It was through the sub-Carpathian districts that the Imperial armies more than once entered and ravaged Transylvania. Nor did the fact that the principality acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sultan always avail to save it from the devastating inroads of Turks and Tartars. How melancholy must have been the condition of Hungary Proper at that time, when it had reason to envy the lot of Transylvania! In fact the principality became, during this period, the camp of refuge of all who detested the licentious and oppressive barbarism of the Turkish officials, and the persecuting, proselytizing, and unconstitutional violence of the German and Italian mercenaries of the Emperor-King. The Court of the Transylvanian princes became the centre of Magyar Protestantism and of Magyar culture. Even now they are commonly spoken of as the "national princes," and the period of their rule, with patriotic disregard of the humiliating suzerainty of the Sublime Porte, as

the period of Transylvanian independence. But those who regarded these troublous times from a nearer point of view, the Transylvanian Diet of 1688, characterized them with the forcible sentence—*Manebit in æternitate temporum historiarum monumentis inserta fatalis illa tragœdia quam hoc regnum sub protectione Turcica et inter discordantes principes sustinuit:* "That fatal tragedy will for ever keep its place among the records of history which this realm endured under Turkish protection amid the discord of its princes."

The principality then presented the appearance of a miniature Poland. It formed an aristocratic republic, where the prince was but *primus inter pares*, the doubtful president of a factious nobility, every one of whom conceived that he had as much right to rule as any other of his peers, and a still clearer right, whenever it seemed to him good, to rebel against his accidental sovereign. In so small a community pretexts for an insurrection were never wanting,—to deliver one's country from the yoke of the infidels, to counter-work the intrigues of the Germans against her independence, to advance the interests of the Catholic Church, to preserve those of the Protestant religion. The past of Transylvania contains many of the romantic elements which Sir Walter Scott discerned in that of his own country, and more than one Transylvanian author has taken him as his

model while depicting some scene of her past history in an historical romance.

One fact, which throws light at once on the institution of the princely office, and the mutual relations of the three political nations, is that all these princes were chosen from the Hungarian nobility of the country. No Székel, much less a Saxon, was ever elected by a Transylvanian Diet to wear the coronet, or rather the cap, which marked the state of its princes. The Székels and Saxons were, in fact, regarded as the allies of the legitimate rulers of the country,—its Hungarian nobility, themselves a fragment accidentally and temporarily detached from the whole body of the nobility of the great mother-land, Hungary. At the same time the two other nations were regarded, not as subject allies, but as allies on an equal footing with the nobility, as men whose adherence might turn the scale in favour of the candidate of one or other aristocratic faction. Each of the three nations had an equal vote in the Diet, and this mode of voting by nations, called *curiatum votum*, prevailed down to 1791. It was then abolished at the re-establishment, under Leopold II., of the Constitution, which had remained in abeyance during the reign of Joseph II. (1780-1790).

But, even as remodelled in 1791, there were considerable and important differences between the Diets of Hungary and Transylvania. It formed one Table

or House instead of being divided into two Tables, as in Hungary. From whatsoever reason, the counts and barons of Transylvania did not all necessarily sit in the Diet by virtue of their birth. In that country the Crown had the right of calling up "regalists," so named because summoned to sit in the legislature by *literæ regales*, "royal letters." Practically their number was unlimited, and the choice of the Crown was but slightly limited by the condition that they were to be chosen from the aristocracy or higher nobility of the principality. These life peers —for such in fact they were—sat in the same chamber with the delegates of the counties of the Hungarian land, of the "seats" or jurisdictions of the Székels or Saxons, and of the "taxal cities," or parliamentary boroughs. These representatives of the boroughs had in the Transylvanian Diets the same right of voting as those of the counties. In this assembly the power and influence of the Crown would seem at first sight to have been overwhelming. As in Hungary before 1848, so here every municipality that was represented returned two delegates. As there were thirteen Hungarian counties and districts, and five Székel seats, there were but thirty-six really independent delegates. On the other side were the thirty-six representatives of the "taxal cities" and twenty-two delegates from the Saxon nation, besides the mass of the "regalists." Yet, strange to say, from 1823 to

1848, the Opposition struggled as vigorously, though not quite as successfully, in favour of liberal reforms as in Hungary.

Each of the three political nations—Hungarians, Székels, and Saxons—had its own separate territory. That of the first was divided, like Hungary Proper, into counties, aristocratically governed by the assemblies, or sessions of the "nobles" or hereditary freemen. The peasantry, *i.e.* the mass of the cultivators of the soil, not possessing the hereditary franchise, had no political rights; they were merely the *contribuens plebs*. The Székels or Saxons were, comparatively speaking, democratic peoples. In their territories the political distinctions of "nobles" and "non-nobles" did not exist. Characteristically enough, this fact was expressed by these two nations in diametrically opposite terms. The Székels boasted that all Székels were "noble," while the Saxons asserted that Saxon-land could not endure "nobility." But although the Székels enjoyed many of the political and personal rights of "nobles," they paid taxes which the "nobles" in the counties of the Hungarian-land did not. These three franchises were independent of one another. At any rate no one but a Saxon had any part in the government of that nation, while Saxon privileges had no force either in the counties or in the territories of the Székels. What were the exact relations, as regarded the franchise, between the free Székels and

" the county nobility, I am not prepared to say positively. However involved were the political arrangements of Hungary Proper, those of Transylvania were even more so. Two, however, of these franchises, perhaps all three, might be united in one individual. As a matter of fact many Saxons and Székels were at the same time Hungarian "noblemen."

The reader will observe that, although the country was inhabited by three nationalities, and the State formed by the confederation of three "political nations," these two triads were not identical. The Hungarians and Székels constituted, in fact, one nationality; they spoke the same language, and were conscious of their common origin. The difference between them was chiefly one of political and social organizations. On the other hand, the Roumans or Wallachs were not recognized as a political nation. The Hungarian conquest of Transylvania had placed these Romanized Dacians in the position of a conquered people. It must not, however, be supposed, as too many have supposed, that the distinction of "noble" and "non-noble" was, in the Hungarian counties of Transylvania, any more than of Hungary Proper, identical with the distinction between Magyar and Rouman, between conqueror and conquered. There were in the counties many Rouman "noblemen" and many Magyar peasants; the former were

as freely admitted to the county sessions as if they had been Magyars, the latter were as rigorously excluded from them as if they had been Roumans. On the whole, however, the majority of the noble class belonged to the conquering race; of the peasant class, to the conquered. Practically this fact worked very much to the advantage of the former nationality, and to the disadvantage of the latter. The self-respect of the poorest and meanest Magyar peasant was sustained by the consciousness of belonging to the superior race; while, on the other hand, vanity and ambition urged those individuals of the Rouman nationality, who raised themselves in the social scale, to deny, as far as possible, their Rouman origin, and to assimilate themselves to the Magyars. The inequality between the two races has been further aggravated by religious differences. The Hungarians, Székels, and Saxons, are adherents of the Papal or anti-Papal forms of West-European Christianity, while the Wallachs belong either to the Orthodox or to the United branches of the Oriental Church.

One point, at any rate, the reader must always bear in mind if he would understand the past history and present position of Transylvania, and that is, that it has always formed, at any rate in theory and *de jure*, an integral portion of the Hungarian kingdom since that kingdom was formed, in the ninth century. It is true that from 1688 to 1848, a period of 160

years, the legislatures of the two countries were kept apart, although they were governed by a common sovereign, but this was merely a device of absolutism to weaken the constitution on both sides of the Királyhágó.* More than once did the Hungarian and Transylvanian Diets attempt to bring about a legislative union between the two fragments of the Hungarian realm, but were as often thwarted by the opposition of the Government. Still there were not wanting unmistakable signs which showed that they were but two fragments of one common country. The sovereign went through no coronation, installation, or any other ceremony whatsoever, to make him Prince of Transylvania; he acquired that dignity by being crowned King of Hungary. The supreme court of justice in the principality was the *Tabula Regia*, or "royal table," not *Tabula Principalis*, or *Ducalis*. A nobleman of Transylvania had all the rights and privileges of a nobleman in Hungary, and, *vice versâ*, a nobleman of Hungary in Transylvania. Any Transylvanian who bore the title of count or baron, on acquiring land in Hungary, acquired with it the right of sitting at the Upper Table of the Hungarian Diet — a privilege which Transylvania could not repay to the magnates of Hungary, as the Diet of the principality had no Table of Magnates. Hungary and Transylvania were commonly spoken of as *a két*

* The ridge separating Hungary and Transylvania.

magyar haza, "the two Hungarian fatherlands," and the natives of one of them were not foreigners in the other. The peculiar relation of Transylvania to Hungary may be still more clearly apprehended when we consider how it differed from that of Croatia to the same country. Transylvania and Hungary were two fragments of the same country, whose legislatures, through the accidents of their history, had become separated. Croatia was a *socium regnum*, an allied kingdom which, for its own local purposes, had a separate legislature; but was, at the same time, represented in the legislature of its more powerful ally. It will be seen that the relations of Hungary with either of those two countries find no parallel in the mutual relations of the various parts of the British islands.

The union of Hungary and Transylvania, which had been frequently proposed between 1688 and 1848, was at length carried during the fervour of that great revolutionary year. The Hungarian Diet, by the seventh article of the laws of 1848, made provision for sixty-nine representatives of Transylvania sitting in their body. The Transylvanian Diet, then assembled at Kolozsvár, eagerly accepted the invitation, and voted itself the last Transylvanian Diet. When the constitution of Hungary was forcibly suppressed by the arms of Austria and Russia, the "two Magyar countries" were again separated. Their

government was confided to two several branches of the Austrian bureaucracy. When, in 1859-60, Austria half-heartedly determined to liberalize itself, and made advances towards reconciliation with Hungary, they still maintained the separate existence of Transylvania as one of the "crown-lands," which together made up the Austrian Empire. The illegal and unconstitutional maintenance of this separation was one of the principal *gravamina* of the Hungarian Diet of 1861. After the Herr von Schmerling had dissolved that body, he determined to see if he could not be more successful in bringing the smaller country to terms. He promulgated an entirely new electoral law for Transylvania, on the basis of which a Diet was to be elected, in which it was fondly hoped that the three elements of the country, the Magyar-Székel, the Saxon, and the Rouman, would counterbalance one another in a sense favourable to the Viennese Government. By reducing the property-qualification to one-half of the very low amount at which it had been fixed by the laws of 1848, he enabled the Roumans to wrest many seats from the recalcitrant Magyars, in spite of the superior wealth and education of the latter. On the other hand, by a careful adjustment of boundaries he prevented the Saxon minority from being swamped and lost in the Roumman mass who form the majority of the population even in the Saxon-land. Herr von Schmerling's plan so far succeeded that his Transyl-

vanian Diet sent up representatives from their body to sit in the Reichsrath at Vienna. But the Magyar and Székel members refused, with remarkable unanimity, to enter the Diet, which they pronounced, *ab initio,* illegal and unconstitutional, and its decisions null and void. Nor were the proceedings of that body calculated to gain the approval of the better classes of the country, to whatsoever nationality they might belong. The absence of the Magyar-Székel element caused the assembly to be divided between a minority of prudent and circumspect Saxons and a Rouman majority either socialist or servile. Meanwhile, the Transylvanian Magyars were biding their time. In 1865 the Schmerling ministry came to an end; the Austrian constitution was suspended, and the Hungarian Diet was convoked. To render the latter body more compliant, the *octroyé* electoral law in Transylvania was abrogated, the Diet of Hermannstadt was disavowed, the Transylvanians were left at liberty to send their representatives to the Diet at Pest, a privilege of which they gladly availed themselves. Since the coronation of Francis Joseph, at Whitsuntide of 1867, the union of Hungary and Transylvania has become a *fait accompli.*

Transylvania rejoices in three distinct names, given it by the three distinct nationalities which inhabit it. The Latin name by which we ourselves are accustomed to recognize it is also used by the

Roumáns, and means "the land beyond the forests." The Hungarians call it Erdély, a word of similar signification, being derived from *erdő*, "forest." But the Saxon immigrants, and after them the Germans, generally call it Siebenbürgen, "the seven fortresses," referring probably to the walled cities which they were the first to build here after the expulsion of the Romans. But no writer has satisfactorily made out which fortresses were the seven that gave rise to the name.

The story goes that when a Magyar of Hungary met a Magyar of Transylvania, he asked how things were going on in "Little Transylvania" (*kis Erdélyben*), to which the other replied that such and such had happened in "fair Transylvania" (*szép Erdélyben*). As every tourist admits the appropriateness of the latter epithet, so must the geographer that of the former. Indeed Gabriel Báthory, the last of the national princes of that family, with the heartless gaiety of a sensualist, said that "little Transylvania hardly supplied enough for a breakfast." The Transylvanians have the reputation of being superior in courtesy, and even in hospitality, to their fellow-countrymen in Hungary, of whom a Transylvanian himself observed to me: "They wish to be hospitable, but do not so well know how." Another point of difference is supposed to be their superior ability in diplomacy. More than once I have heard Hungarian

conservatives and moderates express the wish that the Transylvanian element would come to the top in the management of political affairs. Both their courtesy and their diplomatic character have been attributed to the small size and consequent feebleness of their country. This circumstance would seem rather to explain their diplomatic character and political moderation, than their courtesy. In former days they had to maintain their national existence by judicious trimming between the German and the Turk. At the present day the Magyar gentry of Transylvania attach more importance than their brethren in Hungary to the maintenance of the connection with Cisleithania, and a good understanding with the dynasty from the fear they entertain of their Wallach peasantry. As for their courtesy, it seems more natural to attribute it to the training and traditions of the court of the "national princes." Transylvanian society seems to me to have been in former days much more concentrated than that of the larger country. I have also been told that the Transylvanian landed proprietors were superior to those of Hungary in the art of managing their estates. This, however, was principally shown in maintaining an equal or but slightly lower social position upon estates of less extent and smaller value. Their estates were often so small that the counts and barons of Transylvania have, more than their wealthy Hungarian

brethren, betaken themselves to an active career, whether in literature or politics. It often struck me that, in many respects, Transylvania stood to Hungary in the same relation that Scotland did to England. Perhaps I ought to speak more precisely, and say the Transylvania of twenty-five years ago, and the Scotland of sixty. Railways have diminished the social importance, and blurred the individuality both of Edinburgh and Kolozsvár.

If Orosz, in 1835, could entitle his book upon Hungary *Terra Incognita*, he might have called Transylvania *Terra Incognitior*. Even in 1864 the Transylvanians complained to me that they were unknown to their Hungarian brethren; that the latter believed that the bears from the mountains walked in the streets of their towns. Transylvania, in fact, was one of the most out-of-the-way portions of Europe: it was visited by but few travellers, either on business or for pleasure; no large navigable river, such as the Danube, flows through it, and hence it has come to pass that old-fashioned manners, old-fashioned hospitality, have lingered longer in its sequestered valleys than in richer and more accessible portions of Europe, rendered commonplace by frequent tourists and *commis-voyageurs*. This will, however, soon be changed, as the railway communication between the west of Europe and the Black Sea will soon pass through the heart of this primitive principality.

CHAPTER XXV.

KOLOZSVÁR—THE SZÉKELS.

Three Routes into Transylvania—My own Route—Kolozsvár or Klausenburg—Society—Population—Museum—The Great Church—The Zápolyas—The Unitarians—Religious Fluctuations—Privileges of the Székels—Their Father Attila—Székel Emigration—Opinions of Tourists—Primitive Watering-Places—Borszék—Political Importance of Székels—Their Action in 1848–49—The Székel Character.

My Transylvanian tour was made in the summer of 1864, on the occasion of my second visit to Hungary. There are three routes by which the traveller from Western Europe would most naturally enter that country. The southernmost of all, the one taken by Mr. Boner, is to go down the Danube as far as Orsova, and then traversing the narrow belt of land which forms the Military Frontier, through the pass of the Iron Gate, into the romantic valley of Hátszeg. The second is to proceed by railway as far as Arad; from this town a railway has been quite recently opened up the valley of the Maros to Fehérvár or Karlsburg.

The third route is by railway as far as Nagyvárad or Grosswardein, and thence, by *diligence*, over the ridge of the Királyhágó* to Kolozsvár, or Klausenburg, the capital of the principality. But so rapid is the extension of railways in that part of the world, that before long the traveller may be whirled through Transylvania all the way to Bucharest. In consequence of letters of introduction with which I was furnished, I did not enter the country by either of these three principal routes. After spending a few weeks in the out-of-the-way district of the Szilágyság, I crossed the ridge of the Mezes,† and went down to Kolozsvár. The scenery of the Mezes and of the neighbouring mountain, the Réz,‡ is very picturesque, and the country even less visited by tourists than other parts of Hungary and Transylvania. A little below Csucsa, the point at which my route joined the high road from Grosswardein to Klausenburg, the Sebes Körös § forces its way through a narrow cleft in the Királyhágó, and thus escapes out of Transylvania into the Hungarian plain. Such narrow clefts, with or without a river running through them, are very characteristic of Transylvania. From Csucsa the road to Kolozsvár passes through Bánffy Hunyad,

* King's Steep. † "Chalky." ‡ "Copper."

§ "Swift Körös," so called to distinguish it from two other rivers of the same name; the Fekete, or "Black," and the Fehér, or "White" Körös.

where I remarked the costume described in a previous chapter (vol. i. pp. 186, 187).

From Kolozsvár I went by diligence to the Saxon towns of Hermannstadt and Kronstadt, and then traversed the country of the Székels alone till I arrived at their principal town, Maros-Vásárhely.* That year the annual meeting of the "Association of the Hungarian Physicians and Naturalists" was held in that town. When the meeting broke up I re-crossed the Székel-land to Kronstadt, in the company of some Hungarian friends whom I had met at the meeting. At Kronstadt our party broke up, and again travelling alone I took a third route to Maros-Vásárhely along the borders of the contiguous territories of the Saxons and the Székels. I then visited Enyed, and, travelling almost due north, I returned to Hungary by the way of Nagy-Bánya and Szatmár. It will thus be seen that what I saw of Hungarian Transylvania may be classified under three heads:—Kolozsvár, the Székel-land, and the Calvinist College or High School of Enyed.

Kolozsvár, more generally known in Western Europe by the German version of its name, Klausenburg, was latterly the Magyar capital of Transylvania. At any rate it was generally the seat of the government of the principality between 1688 and 1848, and the place of meeting of the Transylvanian Diets.

* "Maros-Market-place."

Only on one or two occasions, when the Viennese Government were on more than usually bad terms with the Magyar aristocracy of the country, were the government and the legislature removed to Hermannstadt, the chief town of the Saxon-land. During the rule of the "national princes" Maros-Vásárhely and Fehérvár contested the pre-eminence with it. In fact a capital, in the English or French sense of the word, was no more a Transylvanian institution than a Hungarian. Indeed between 1688 and 1848 the *Tabula Regia*, the highest judicial tribunal of the principality, had its seat at Maros-Vásárhely. Latterly Kolozsvár was the town to which "society" resorted during the winter. Owing to its distance from Vienna, the residence of the sovereign, society in Transylvania had acquired some of the aspects of that of an aristocratical republic. The Bánffys, the Bethlens, the Keménys, the Telekis, the Wesselényis, and the other "great houses" of the principality, intermarried amongst themselves, and formed an aristocratical circle by themselves in their own *kincses és kulcsos Kolozsvár*, "Kolozsvár of the treasure and the key." At that time it was, as far as society went, the pleasantest place of residence in the two Hungarian countries for any one who had admission within the charmed circle of aristocratic exclusiveness. The concentration of the aristocracy in this little capital was doubtless the principal cause of the reputation

for refinement and charm of manner which Transylvania to some extent still enjoys. May I be allowed to hint that perhaps a certain infusion of Wallachian blood may have contributed towards it? The levelling and centralizing influence of railways has already done much and will speedily do more to degrade Kolozsvár from an elegant, if microscopic, capital to a flourishing but undistinguished provincial town.

The population of Kolozsvár is about 21,000, while that of Hermannstadt is about 18,000, and that of Kronstadt about 27,000. In appearance, however, it maintains its superiority to its two Saxon rivals. It has high, cheerful-looking houses, and large, open, well-paved streets, enlivened, during the season, by the equipages of the resident magnates. Although Transylvania is now legislatively united with Hungary, many traces of its separate existence still remain. Amongst these we must reckon the Transylvanian Museum. The library attached to this institution is placed for the convenience of the librarians and students in the centre of the town. The collections themselves are in a building on the outskirts of one of its suburbs. It was a country villa belonging to the patriotic magnate Count Mikó, who presented the house and the surrounding gardens to the institution. The collections both of Transylvanian natural history and Transylvanian antiquities were brought together by the individual liberality of several noblemen and

citizens of the principality. It is to be hoped that no future disturbances of the country may involve it in the ruin which has befallen so many like collections. To the gentlemen who are curators of its two departments I owe some of the pleasantest hours of my sojourn in their pleasant town.

Like almost all the other cities of Transylvania, Kolozsvár owes its origin, in part at least, to Saxon colonists. But the Saxons themselves have by this time been absorbed in the mass of the inhabitants who belong to the Magyar nationality. Indeed there was always a Hungarian element amongst the burghers. In 1473 the Town Council consisted of six Magyar and six Saxon councillors, and the offices of "chief judge" and "chief notary" were held alternately by representatives of each nationality. By this time, however, Kolozsvár may be considered a Magyar town, in spite of its numerous Wallach proletariat. Not more than six or seven families talk around their household stoves in the peculiar Saxon dialect; while the Germans who are to be found here are, for the most part, recent immigrants. What does remain of the Saxons is their masonry. A large portion of the old walls which once surrounded the town, and some of its towers and gateways, are still left standing. Instead, however, of marking its limits as they once did, they are now, in the greater part of their extent, surrounded by suburbs. Everywhere

they are turned to some use, houses having been built up against them, or upon them, reminding one of that from which Rahab let down the spies. The effect of this arrangement is at once curious and slovenly.

Another striking feature of Kolozsvár is its large square, or *piacz*, surrounded by the best houses in the town. In the middle stands a fine old church, at the time of my visit, encumbered by groups of small, mean houses, and booths clustered around it, as also by an Austrian guard-house, with its cannon, and stripes of dirty ochre and rusty black. These, I believe, have since been removed. The earliest history of this church cannot be accurately detailed, as the necessary documents have been lost, or perhaps maliciously destroyed during the religious wars, when its possession was coveted by contending sects. It appears, however, that about the end of the fourteenth century, or in the very first years of the fifteenth, the citizens of Kolozsvár began to lay its foundations, for Pope Boniface, in 1400, granted an indulgence to all who would help forward the building. It is evident, from its form and construction, that it was built at different times, the progress of the work being retarded by the troubles of those days; or that it has undergone manifold and considerable alterations. A mural inscription at the west end of the church, now almost illegible, mentions the Emperor, King Sigismund, as founding it in the year 1442. This cannot be under-

stood literally, inasmuch as that sovereign died in 1437. It is supposed that the later date refers to the completion of the edifice. Already in 1422 it was so far advanced that mass could be celebrated there. It was before the high altar in this church that the Hungarian Crown, with all its appurtenances, was given up to Castaldo, the representative of Ferdinand I., by Queen Isabella, the widow of the King John Zápolya. As she did so she expressed her presentiment that it would never again rest on a Hungarian brow. Its subsequent history so far justified that presentiment, as all the kings who have since been crowned with it have been princes of the German House of Habsburg.

This John Zápolya contested the kingdom with Ferdinand, the brother of the Emperor, Charles V. To put an end to the consequent civil war, it was at last arranged that both should reign during John's lifetime, the crown remaining in his hands, but that after his decease, that, together with the whole kingdom, should be surrendered to Ferdinand. When John was on his death-bed, he exhorted his wife and friends not to fulfil the treaty, but, on the contrary, to strain every nerve to maintain his son's royalty. The career of John Zápolya was chiefly marked by selfish personal ambition, which was not justified by any extraordinary amount of courage or ability. At the same time it must be remembered that his claim to

the throne was every whit as good as that of Ferdinand himself. The statement made by a recent English writer, "By law and treaty it was Ferdinand of Austria, who should have worn it,"* is misleading. A former king had disposed of the elective crown of Hungary without the consent of the nation being asked or given, and the members of the Diet had, according to the then existing constitution of the country, an undoubted right to act upon that arrangement or not, as seemed to them best.

By 1551 the doctrines of the Reformation had made such progress that this church passed into the possession of the Lutherans, and the altars and images were removed. It was, however, not long left in their hands. In 1566, Francis David preached Unitarianism with such success, that not only the greater portion of the inhabitants of Kolozsvár, but also the Prince John Sigismund, the son of John Zápolya, embraced the new doctrines. He then took away the church from the Lutherans, and gave it to the Unitarians. The streets of Kolozsvár are adorned or encumbered with large boulder-stones. Tradition still points out one at the corner of the Thorda Utca (Thorda Street), on which David took his stand while he expounded his doctrines. In 1603 the terrible Imperialist General Basta invaded the country, occupied the town, and gave over the church to the

* BONER'S *Transylvania*, p. 107.

Jesuits. The very next year, however, Basta retired from Transylvania, whereupon the Unitarians expelled the Jesuits, and entered again into possession. They were left undisturbed until 1716, when the principality having passed definitely under the rule of the House of Austria, the Catholics regained the church, and have kept it ever since.

The great crucifix behind the decorations of the high altar is said to be the same which was cleared out of the church to fit it for Lutheran worship, and brought back again when the Arians were finally chased away. The attention of visitors is particularly called to the door of the sacristy. It is adorned in the style of the Renaissance, and the sculpture is finely and carefully finished. Over the door, which itself is plated with iron, we read the date 1554. In a room at the south-western corner of the building, strongly barred and bolted, are laid up the patents of nobility and other records intrusted to the keeping of the chapter.

On the whole, the outside of the church produces a more pleasing effect than the inside. If time has destroyed more of the fine old mediæval work, man has destroyed less, and, what is still more important, has added less in the inferior taste of these latter days. One important exception must be noticed. A Gothic tower has been built within this century on the north side of the church. To the carelessness

and bad management displayed in its erection is attributed the present unsafe condition of the whole edifice. At the time of my visit grave fears were felt about it, and a commission of architects had been appointed to report on the measures necessary for its preservation.

A word or two on the fortunes of the Unitarians whom we have here found enjoying the patronage of the sovereign. Besides other sources of instability and disorder—if we should not rather consider it a sign of them—which marked Transylvania under the rule of the national princes, may be reckoned the varying predominance of the different Confessions consequent upon the opinions of those princes. John Sigismund, as we have seen, embraced Unitarianism, but he was succeeded by the Báthorys, who were Catholics. These were followed with uncertain intercalations of anarchy by Reformed or Calvinist princes of the families of Bethlen, Rákóczy and Apaffy. Unitarianism, favoured by John Sigismund Zápolya, gradually sunk from the position it held during his reign. Regarded with suspicion by all other denominations of Christians, and divided by internal contentions with respect to the worship due to Christ, the numbers of its adherents gradually diminished. This was especially the case in the higher ranks of society. There are now somewhat less than 50,000 Unitarians in Transylvania, mostly

Székelś in the jurisdictions of Háromszék, Udvarhely, and Maros-Vásárhely. They are still often called Arians. In Kolozsvár they have a large new church, on which is to be read their distinctive motto *Soli Deo Gloria*, so often seen on their houses in the country. Here they have also a High School and a College, to which is attached a small library. A great deal of kindly feeling prevails amongst these Transylvanian Unitarians towards England, in consequence of the support they have received from their co-religionists in this country.

In the preceding chapter I have mentioned that the Székels were a people who, in past times, enjoyed a larger share of liberty or privilege than the great mass of their fellow-countrymen. In the Hungarian word *szabadság* the ideas of liberty and privilege were inextricably confused together. Their privileges were conferred upon them in consideration of their guarding the eastern frontier of the kingdom. Such was the importance attached to their services that a special title, *Comes Siculorum*, "Count of the Székels," was borne by the national princes of Transylvania and their successors, the Austrian kings of Hungary. The accounts generally given of the origin of the Székels are various, some making them the remnant of Attila's Huns, others of the Avars defeated by Charlemagne; a third version makes them the descendants of the Magyars who were either above or below military age,

who fled thither from the vengeance of Simeon, king of the Bulgarians, who had attacked them during the absence of the fighting men of the horde. Of these versions the first is the one held by the Székels themselves, and figures in several of their popular songs. One of them, for instance, runs thus:

Therefore because I am a Székel
I call no man lord.
Attila was my father,
A fair inheritance has been left to me.

A mace, a sharp dagger, and a sword,
Withal two strong arms,
In my breast beats a stout heart,
In war it has contended with many Tatars.

The great whip of Attila
Is never untwisted amongst us,
And if we crack it presently,
We shall not flee out of the battle.

Do not then injure him,
But recognize the great Székel,
For he is the true blood of Attila,
With his weapons he pierces right through.

Another, of a less ambitious character, runs thus:

Attila was my father,
Therefore I love my country.
If my poor father were now living,
I would give him my shirt and my *gatya*.*

In like manner the Székels had a proverb to the effect that there was the same difference between a Székel and a Magyar, as between a man's son and his grandson. By this they meant that they came in

* The loose linen trousers, or drawers, of the Hungarian peasant.

by a previous immigration. But I was glad to find in Hungary some sceptics who set equally little store on all these traditions, and maintain that the Székels were neither more nor less than Magyars who acquired their peculiar name from living in *széḱek*, "seats," instead of *megyéḱ*, or "counties."

But whatever may have been the origin of the Székels, or whatever the grounds on which their privileges were first granted, the consequence of those privileges was the over-population of the country and the high price of land in its territory. For several centuries the Székel-land has sent out colonies of emigrants into the neighbouring principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. In these two countries population was even more scanty than in Transylvania itself; waste lands were more easily found and settled upon; and labour commanded a higher price. The fact that these two countries were under another government, was an additional inducement to divert the stream of Székel emigration eastward and southward, rather than westward. During the rule of the so-called national princes, the partisans who had espoused the losing cause in the oft-recurring insurrections of that period, took refuge in the Danubian Principalities. The same asylums sheltered the deserters from military service under the Austrian princes. Indeed, the system of the Military Frontier, as administered by the German military bureaucrats,

was especially unpopular among the Székels. Of late years the Principalities have had additional attractions for the Székels, owing to the depreciated condition of the Austrian paper currency. The boyars of Moldavia and Wallachia enjoy the advantages consequent upon not being the subjects of a great European Power. They can still pay their labourers their wages in gold, instead of the twopenny-halfpenny bank-notes in use all over the Austrian empire. Their ducats, or the *agio* which the returning labourer gains on them as he recrosses the frontier, exercise a very natural and irresistible fascination on the hard-working Székels.

At the present day these emigrants are divided into two classes—those who settle permanently in the Principalities, and those who go down every spring, returning home at the end of harvest. The extent of this emigration may be judged of by the fact that the number of Hungarians in Bucharest alone has been trebled during the last ten years. I was told that it would be even greater were it not for the imperfect administration of the laws in those barbarous countries. The Székel reaper is often cheated by the boyar of his hard-earned wages. Then he "scolds and argufies" (*schimpft und raisonnirt*), to use my Saxon informant's own expression, "but is cheated for all that."

Indeed, were these mountaineers not to seek

service without the narrow limits of their own territory, they must have long ago perished by famine. Over by far the greater part of its extent the climate is too harsh to allow of the cultivation of the vine. And although there are fertile valleys in the jurisdictions of Haromszek and Maros-Vásárhely, the large jurisdiction of the Csik and a great portion of the other cantons produce scarcely anything but wood and mineral water. The little village of Oláhfalu received from Prince Gabriel Bethlen municipal independence and the right of sending two representatives to the Diet, in consideration of a large quantity of sawn timber, which they had to deliver at Fehérvar, where he was building a palace. Its privileges were confirmed by George Rákóczy in 1631, and later by the Emperor Leopold I. The timber which procured for Oláhfalu its municipal privileges is still the main, I might almost say, the only means of support for its inhabitants. These privileged free villagers became proverbial as extreme types of the Székel character, and a number of stories were circulated about them with respect to their simplicity, their penurious frugality, and their Scotch shrewdness, which not unseldom overreached itself. Indeed, the Székel-land is one in which a Jew finds it difficult to live. Unfortunately, the same process is going on in their territory which has happened in so many other parts of the world, and the improvident reck-

lessness of the Székel is rooting out the forests faster than nature can repair them.

Two members of the Alpine Club, who recently visited this part of the country, complained that, in spite of the mountains on the Moldavian frontier being 8,000 feet high, they are only gigantic moors, and do not afford an adventurous Englishman sufficient opportunities for breaking his neck. Another fault which tourists may find with it was indicated by a remark of a German fellow-traveller. As we were coming down the valley of the Olt (the Latin Aluta), he said, "If this were a civilized country, there would be a robber-knight's castle on yonder peak overlooking the river." For my own part, I do not care to find in one country precisely the same sources of interest which there may be in another. Those who take an interest in a primitive people, unspoilt by travellers, and do not shrink from the little discomforts necessarily incident to travelling among them, will find much to repay them in a tour through the Székel-land. It is true that it is not an Alpine country, but if wood and water, and the absence of cultivation, can render a country romantic, that much-abused epithet may be confidently applied to the neighbourhood of Homorod, the hills around Borszek, and the upper part of the valley of the Maros. The scenery of this part of the country reminded me of that of inland Wales. Nor are softer beauties want-

ing. For my part, I have never seen so beautiful an effect produced by cultivation as the first time I traversed the valley of the Olt between Sepsi-Szent-György and Bükszád. The weather was bright and fine, and set off to the best advantage the different colours of the very varied crops. The whole plain was like a garden unbroken by hedges, and most of the plants were set in small patches, a sign of minute division among the small proprietors. The golden yellow of the wheat, and the "angry green" (*haragó zöld*) of the maize, were relieved by the duller green of the tall hemp, the delicate sky-blue of the flower of the short fine flax, the equally delicate grass-green of its stalk, the pink of the buckwheat, and the purple and violet of the poppy. Of the latter a great deal was planted, sometimes in patches by itself, sometimes scattered amongst the maize. They are grown for their seeds, which are a favourite ingredient in Hungarian confectionery.

Nor do I think the watering-places, uncomfortable and rude as most of them are, devoid of interest. They present the observer of social life with the spectacle of the pursuit of amusement under difficulties, and in the summer are the places where the society of Transylvania is to be found. To so poor a country they are of no little value, as they attract annually a number of visitors, not only from the more favoured portions of Transylvania, but also from

Moldavia and Wallachia. The two most fashionable are Elöpaták, in the south, and Borszék, in the north. The former, chiefly frequented by the Wallachian boyars, is said to derive its chief attraction from its gambling-rooms. The waters of Borszék surpass in strength and efficacy those of all its rivals. One of its springs is so intensely cold that the bather can only make one hasty plunge into its healthful waters, which are tonic and exhilarating. Fragile short-necked bottles of its effervescing chalybeate, packed in long wooden cases, are carried down by the Székel through all Transylvania, as far as the railway termini at Arad and Grosswardein. The practice of drinking some kind of mineral water with wine is very common all over Hungary. These chalybeate saline or sulphureous waters have hence acquired the generic name of *borviz*, "wine-water." With the extension of the railway, no doubt, the export from Borszék will be largely increased, and the quality of the bottles used improved. As it is, the glass is so thin, and the amount of gases contained so great, that they never dare to cork them until they have allowed a few seconds for a portion of the carbonic acid to escape. Besides the difficulty of communication, capital is kept away from the place by the short-sighted suspicion of the proprietors. The springs belong to two Székel village communes—Ditró and Szárhegy; they long refused to grant the lessees a

lease for a longer period than five years. On the 25th April, in 1868, a lease for six years was granted, in consideration of a yearly rent of 52,821 florins. This was an advance of 20,000 florins upon the previous rent.

The importance of the services rendered by the Székels to the Hungarian cause, and which they may still be expected to render in the future, can hardly be overrated. While the Rouman element is predominant in the west of Transylvania, *i.e.* that portion of it which borders on Hungary Proper, the compact mass of the Székels makes the Hungarian element predominant in the eastern half, on the very frontiers of Moldavia. If Transylvania be considered a citadel, the Székels are its Hungarian garrison. Their geographical position, their compactness, their industry, frugality, courage, and passionate nationalism will always make them a serious obstacle to the absorption of Transylvania into that imagined Great Roumania dreamt of by the coffee-house politicians of Bucharest. Nor are they a population likely to disappear. Unlike the over-fed, over-heated Magyar of the Alföld, the Székel is prolific, and brings up large families. Of late years, the Hungarians have turned their attention to devising schemes for diverting the stream of Székel migration towards Hungary and Western Transylvania; but the pecuniary difficulties are very great. Since I left the country, some landed

proprietors of the county of Bihar have made arrangements for the settlement of 800 Székel colonists on their estates. When we consider that population is one of the chief wants of Hungary, it is a pity that similar schemes are not carried out on even a larger scale.

In 1848-9 an assembly of the Székel nation, to the number of 40,000, met on the field of Agyagfalva, and determined to render assistance to their Magyar brethren in the counties, who were being exterminated by the insurgent Wallachs. In November, 1848, the Hungarians were so hardly pressed that Transylvania was left to its own resources; and the combined forces of the Austrian Governor Puchner and the Wallachs had reduced almost the whole of Transylvania, with the exception of one portion of the Székel-land, the Háromszék. Even there they deliberated as to whether they should not give in their submission. The chief argument in favour of taking that course was that their enemies had cannon, and they had none. On this, an old man, who had served in the army, promised that, if they would hold out for a week longer, he would undertake to make them a cannon by that time. His terms were accepted, and in a week the cannon was ready. The Székels awaited with anxiety its first discharge. From some cause or other, it gave a particularly loud report, which greatly encouraged these primitive warriors, as they exclaimed, "*Ho!*

ho! *A miénk nagyobbat szól*"—"Ours speaks the loudest."

This incident of the old soldier providing the Székels of Háromszék with a cannon has been made the subject of a short tale, with a mythological colouring, by M. Jókai, and has been translated into English by M. Szabados.

A Saxon, speaking to me of the Székel character, said that he is a still more furious fellow (*ein noch mehr rabiater Kerl*) than the Hungarian himself. I asked a Calvinist professor, who, as an officer in the Honved army, had had Székels under his command, if this opinion was well grounded. "Yes," he answered; "we found them of a peculiarly excitable temperament; but, just as they were more easy to rouse to action than the other Hungarians, so they were more easily thrown into despondency. It was only by the severest threats that we could prevent them from throwing their powder into the fire when they heard of the Russian intervention."

CHAPTER XXVI.

ENYED.

Importance of the Place—The College of the Reformed—Agitation among the Wallachs—Atrocities committed by them—Feelings of their Peasant Neighbours and Landlords—Fortunes of Enyed in 1848—The Advance of Bem—Burning of Enyed—Losses of the College—Despondency of the Hungarians—Poor Scholars—The inexorable Tax-gatherer—College Statistics.

LEAVING the Székel-land, which I traversed two or three times, I went from Maros-Vásárhely, a day's journey in a south-westerly direction, to the little town of Enyed. It is more precisely called Nagy-Enyed, to distinguish it from the still smaller village of Kis-Enyed.* It is interesting from two causes, as having been the wealthiest Protestant educational establishment in the two Hungarian countries, and, secondly, from its having been sacked and burnt by the insurgent Wallachs in January, 1849. Enyed was, besides, the chief town of the county of Alsó-

* *Nagy* means "great," *Kis*, "little."

Fehér,* which enjoyed a recognized primacy among the counties of the Hungarian-land. The *fö-ispán*, or lord-lieutenant of that county, had in his keeping the seal of the first political nation. The history of the calamities which befell the town has been written by Baron Gabriel Kemény, nephew of the lord-lieutenant of the county during the troubles of 1848-49. From both of them I have derived much valuable information respecting Transylvania. In Enyed, the college of the Reformed was the principal feature. The town itself was but small, while the college was an important institution. Although not exactly a university, it was something more than an ordinary gymnasium. Its scholars passed through a preparatory course of nine years, while the higher classes of "philosophy," theology, and law formed a course of six years. The whole number of the scholars exceeded a thousand. The college itself enjoyed in Enyed, down to 1848, several rights of a feudal lord of the manor; the masters or professors were well paid, considering the value of money in Transylvania at that time, and formed the cream of Enyed society. Besides the professors, a large portion of the population were connected with the college, either by mental or material ties. The college was the largest proprietor in Enyed. It owned the largest houses and the finest vineyards.

* Literally, "Lower-white." It is called in German, *Untere Weissenburger Comitat.*

By far the greater part of its revenues was spent either directly or indirectly in the place, and at the same time it attracted the money of strangers thither. At Enyed, too, resided the bishop of the Reformed Church. Thus Enyed was, for an important part of the population of Transylvania, its intellectual capital. As one of the most favoured recipients of the bounty of the Protestant princes of the country, especially of Gabriel Bethlen, it was a place of historical and antiquarian interest. But these considerations, so far from recommending it to mercy, rather served as an additional pretext for its ruin.

By way of paralyzing the action of the Hungarian Government, the agents of the Austrian Camarilla attempted to get up an agitation in Transylvania, in a purely communistic sense, and so far succeeded that in 1848 the Hungarian authorities hung several communist ringleaders. Characteristically enough the majority of these were Magyars. This agitation, however, not meeting with the success its instigators had anticipated, they fell back upon the national antipathies and national aspirations of the Rouman population, which is especially compact in the mountains separating Hungary from Transylvania, and in the valley of the Maros, about Fehérvár (Karlsburg), and the lower course of the Great Küküllő. On the banks of the latter river, a tributary of the Maros, stands the village town of Balásfalva (Blasendorf),

which served as the centre of the Rouman movement, where they have a seminary for the education of the United Greek clergy. It was in this part of the country, comprising the Hungarian county of Alsó-Fehér, and the isolated Székel jurisdiction of Aranyosszék, that they inflicted the greatest atrocities not only on their landlords, but also on their poorer neighbours, who spoke the landlord language, and professed the landlord religion. I may here mention that this is the most fertile portion of Transylvania, whence it derives its name of Kenyérmezö (bread-field). It is besides celebrated for the excellence of its wines. In village after village of Alsó-Fehér, the Magyar inhabitants were plundered and massacred by the Wallach *land-sturm*, which Puchner, the Austrian governor of the province, had called into existence for the ostensible purpose of maintaining order and disarming the disaffected. This they did so effectually that, in the spring of 1849, a traveller who was passing through Aranyosszék, asked his driver, who had stopped before a lonely wayside inn, how far they were from Fel-vincz, the chief town of the jurisdiction. "Your honour," was the reply, "is now exactly in the middle of Fel-vincz." There the whole town had been, in the strictest sense of the word, burnt to the ground, on the 24th of November, 1849. The consequence of their ravages is, that in this part of Transylvania, at least, the poor Székel and

the Hungarian peasant are more embittered against the Wallachs than even the nobility themselves. Indeed, when I conversed with several of the latter class about the *jacquerie*—individuals, too, who had themselves barely escaped with their own lives, losing all their property which could be destroyed, sometimes relations, almost all friends and dependants,—when I conversed with them about these troubles I was struck with the tone of commiseration with which they spoke of the Wallachs. They reminded me of Plato's maxim, that he who commits injustice is more to be pitied than he who suffers it. The patriarchal relations which existed between the Wallach peasant and the Hungarian lord before the revolution gave a peculiar complexion to this compassion. When a Wallach peasant was in trouble or perplexity of any sort, it was to his landlord that he came for assistance and advice. If his crop of maize was swept away by a flood, if his milch-cow had died, it was on his landlord that he depended to save him from starving in the winter. If the Government officials had sent the village judge an ordinance which passed his limited comprehension, he applied to the landlord for explanation. When this same peasant rose and murdered his master, who had been at the same time his guide and his protector; when, with little advantage to himself, and great damage to every one else, he began to lay waste that master's property, his landlord looked

on him as a poor benighted creature, led astray by the insidious counsels of his spiritual guides, "blind leaders of the blind," by strange and unexpected temptations, which he had never been educated to resist, and drunken with all the terrible licence of servile war.

When one of these Transylvanian landlords had tried to give me an idea of the material devastation inflicted upon his house and grounds, he suddenly broke off, saying: "Yet all these things are but trifles; horses, cows, gardens, barns, pictures, books, furniture, can be replaced, but who can restore to life those who were then murdered?" I do not know whether any of my readers will find this speech theatrical. If they do it is the fault of my account. I cannot reproduce the simplicity and manly absence of self-consciousness with which it was uttered.

These massacres made a much more vivid impression upon me than I can give to my readers, or indeed wish to give. The vividness of impression did not arise merely from travelling over many of the scenes of this tragedy, and seeing face to face the persons who either had or might have acted or suffered in it. Another thing which conduced thereto was that I heard the same story repeated in such different ways by such different narrators. One gentleman, in the character of an historian, would give me a general idea how the whole affair was carried out. Another

told me particular anecdotes enclosing minute traits of personal character. I cannot help smiling as I remember that the stories which a lady used to tell me were mostly illustrations of the ludicrous element in the insurrection. For instance, her aunt had written a number of letters to her family long ago, during a tour through Italy. These the peasants found in a drawer, and thinking that they were patents of nobility, they brought out her father's portrait, and burned these letters before its eyes, saying, as they did so, "See, proud lord, how thy family becomes as ignoble as we once were!" They then told the Hungarian servants that they intended to continue them in their places, the whole body of pillagers constituting themselves, so to say, a corporate master and "missus" of the establishment, their general behaviour reminding me of a caricature in *Punch* of a party of Lincoln's newly-emancipated slaves in the drawing-room of a fugitive planter. In contrast to all these ludicrous incidents, I heard a peasant, an enforced eyewitness of the worst horrors, relating them in all their details in the same matter-of-fact way in which he would describe putting to his horses or cooking a mess of *puliska*. Very often the Wallachs combined a grim communistic humour with the tortures they inflicted on their victims. For instance, they put out the eyes of a landlord, and then, placing him with his face towards his own wood, asked him if he still saw it. In very

many cases the Hungarians committed suicide on the approach of the Wallachs, that they might at least die without torture.

In consequence of the disturbances prevailing in the neighbourhood throughout the summer of 1848, the work of education was suspended and its scholars sent to their homes. Many Magyars from the neighbouring villages and the farm-houses of the nobility took refuge in the little town, which began to make some imperfect preparations for its defence. On the evening of October 17th the first alarm was given of the approach of the Wallachs; but on the 23rd Count Gregory Bethlen, having arrived from Kolozsvár with 110 hussars, forded the Maros in the face of some thousands of the Wallach *land-sturm*, who immediately took to flight. More than 200 of them were killed in the pursuit. But the position of Enyed was, in a military sense, untenable, and lay too far south to be permanently assisted by the small Hungarian force concentrated in the north-western corner of the principality, which was itself in a position of great difficulty and danger. The people of Enyed, consequently, did not attempt any resistance when, the small Magyar force having withdrawn northward, on the 8th of November the Wallach *land-sturm*, with several imperial officers and soldiers, and a body of the Saxon national guard, appeared before the town, under the command of Gratze, a captain in one of the

regiments of the Military Frontier. The greatest confusion prevailed, although the town was delivered up without a blow. The rooms of the college museum remained open for weeks, during which time their collection of medals and coins completely disappeared; much the same was the case with the collections of minerals and stuffed birds, in which the Saxons are said to have shown themselves particularly faulty. When I was at Enyed the story was told me of a bird which M. Zeyk had stuffed and put in the collection, under a wrong name. He soon discovered his error, but, by way of a joke, left it for a time uncorrected; meanwhile the disturbances of 1848 broke out, and the specimen was soon to be seen in the museum at Hermannstadt under the appellation he had originally given it.

When the Hungarian soldiers left Enyed many of the principal inhabitants left in their escort, for Kolozsvár, or even farther off, across the Király-hágó. In no long time after the whole of Tránsylvania, with the exception of the small corner of the Székel-land, of which I have spoken in the last chapter, had submitted to Puchner. All communication between Enyed and Hungary, indeed between Kolozsvár and Hungary, was interrupted. By the beginning of December the military operations of the Hungarians seemed to the citizens of Enyed to have proved abortive, and the humanity of General Wardener

induced many of the refugees from Enyed to return thither under the protection of an Austrian escort. At the same time many of the widows of those who had been massacred when the Wallachs wasted the Magyar villages of the neighbourhood, took refuge in the little town.

When the fortunes of the Hungarian cause were thus at their lowest ebb, a new power appeared in the field, in the person of Bem, a Polish exile, to whom Kossuth had given the supreme command of all the Hungarian forces in Transylvania. Surrounded as they were by enemies on all sides, the Hungarians could detach but a few thousand fresh troops to reconquer the principality. But the military genius of Bem was in itself a host. He soon re-established order amongst the disorganized fugitives who had retreated before Puchner, and by a series of brilliant victories and rapid marches advanced towards Hermannstadt. When we consider that Bem was a stranger to the country, ignorant of the Hungarian language, and but imperfectly acquainted with German, and that in consequence of an incurable wound his life was one prolonged agony, our admiration of his exploits is increased.

But his very successes and the advance of the Hungarian army proved the ruin of Enyed. The attention of the Austrian officers being now fully occupied by the enemy, their allies the Wallach

land-sturm were left more than before to their own devices. By a parody of the military titles of the old Romans the Wallach leaders were called prefects, tribunes, and centurions. One of these prefects, a pope of the Greek Church, Prodanu Probu by name, entered Enyed on the 8th of January with a small portion of his force, leaving the great mass of them without at the neighbouring village of Fel-Enyed, to the north-west of the town. Prodanu assured the citizens that they had no cause for alarm. At the same time another prefect, whose name seems to have been Axenti Severu, but who in German wrote himself down Auxenz, and wished his name to be identified with the Latin-sounding Auxentius Severus, was encamped at Csombord. This village lies about a quarter of an hour's distance to the east of the town on the opposite side of the Maros, at that time frozen over. The country-house of the Kemény family was in so ruined a condition that the terrible prefect preferred to take up his quarters at the house of the Calvinist pastor. At nightfall the tragedy began. For some reason, which has never been explained, Axenti ordered those of his troop who were armed with guns, the great majority being only pikemen, to proceed to Enyed. This, too, he did in spite of a note, written in pencil to the authorities of the town, that neither he nor any of his men were to be expected there. When, however,

they approached they were driven away by the Wallachs under the command of Prodanu. On the return of his musketeers, Axenti fell into a rage and ordered the whole of his forces to march against the place, while he himself remained at Csombord, and regarded the scene that followed from the garden of the pastor's house. Dividing themselves into three divisions they entered the town at three different points, and instantly began a work of indiscriminate incendiarism and slaughter. Prodanu being called upon by the terrified citizens to make good his promises of protecting Enyed as "the light of his eye," girt on his sword and stepped out into the tumult; but he was already so much overcome with wine as to be unable to effect anything. At first Prodanu's men took no part in the work of destruction; but the example of Axenti's party drew them in from Fel-Enyed to take their share of the plunder. This, however, was not till towards morning, when the town was already in flames. All through the night and the greater part of the next day the massacre of the Magyar inhabitants of the place went on, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. It was in vain that the Catholic clergy, dressed in their full canonicals, with crucifixes in their hands, exerted themselves to the utmost to control the fury of the Wallachs; indeed, one of the first that fell was the President of the Minorite Convent. The

escape of the victims of this nightly attack was rendered more difficult as the moon was then at her full, and the ground was covered with fresh snow. But the buildings of the town, especially of the Protestant college, were, to some extent, preserved by the latter circumstance. There were six inches of snow on the roofs, and no wind to aggravate the conflagration. In spite of their disorder and drunkenness, the Wallach incendiaries proceeded on a certain system. None of the straw-thatched cottages of the Wallach inhabitants of the place were burnt, while their most pertinacious efforts were directed against the Protestant college. As it was roofed with tiles, and very solidly built, they were obliged to set on fire every room separately, and even then the greater part of the building baffled the incendiaries.

On the 10th of January the forces of the Wallachs withdrew from Enyed, which they left a heap of smouldering ashes. Some few of the inhabitants had concealed themselves amongst the ruins, but by far the greater part had either perished in the massacre, or were wandering in the woods, destitute of food and clothing, in that exceptionally cold winter. The fate of Enyed was known in Torda on the 9th of January, and half a company of Honveds started to its assistance; but seeing the light of so great a fire, they thought the enemy too strong for them to attack. The mere rumour of their approach was sufficient to

disturb the Wallachs, who hastily evacuated the place; thus affording the remnant of its inhabitants a short respite, of which they availed themselves to effect their escape.

The losses which the school sustained, to say nothing of the rest of the town, were such that it has not yet replaced them, perhaps never will. The building containing the library, the museum, the collection of minerals, of coins, and medals, was burnt to the ground. The loss in houses, furniture, and other property is estimated at from 200,000 to 250,000 florins. The collection of coins and medals was valued at from 10,000 to 15,000 florins; and I was told that the natural history collection was of like value. The school library had contained 36,000 volumes. A still greater loss was an immense mass of MSS. and documents, for the most part having reference to Hungarian and Transylvanian history. Amongst other things which perished was the helmet and coat-of-mail of the celebrated Simon Kemény, who fell at the battle of Szent Imre against the Turks. All the archives of the county, laid up in the county house, were burnt.

I have been thus prolix on the destruction of Enyed, as it was merely an instance, although, perhaps, the most conspicuous one, of what happened everywhere in Transylvania during the war of 1848-49. Countless treasures and curiosities that

had survived all the ravages of Tartars and Turks, then disappeared.

But it was not only material loss that Enyed and the Transylvanian Magyars suffered from. The unexpectedness of the blow, the completeness of the destruction, demoralized those who had thus laboured in vain. The moral prostration produced by the disastrous termination of the revolutionary war was such that large numbers of the Hungarians and Székels, of set purpose, neglected the education of their children. A further cause of this neglect was the intrusion of foreign officials on the part of the Bach Government into the whole civil administration of Hungary, and the degradation of the public service in the eyes of the patriots. The Government had perhaps, on its part, no objection to put Hungarians into the civil administration of the other "crown lands;" but this was an equivalent which comparatively few Hungarians could bring themselves to accept. It was, in fact, tantamount to giving up their children to become denationalized exiles.

This explains the fact that at the time of my visit the lower classes were much fuller than the upper. The number of students began to increase directly the political prospects of the Hungarians began to brighten, in consequence of the breakdown of the absolutist system, during the campaign of Lombardy in 1859.

The support given by the foundation to the scholars consists of prize-books, prizes in money, their board, either wholly or in part; and besides these, what we should call scholarships, or exhibitions. The most interesting of all forms of relief is the institution of the *czipó*, which is a small loaf of bread, something like our penny loaves. The *czipók* are made from corn grown on the college lands, ground in the college mill, and baked in the college bakehouse, and are distributed among a number of the poorer or more deserving scholars, either in addition to other helps, or as the only assistance which the foundation is able to afford them. No less than 387 pairs (for so they are baked) of these little loaves were at the time of my visit distributed daily among 511 recipients.

The care of maintaining the discipline of the school is intrusted to one professor called the *rendör*, "guardian of order." This office is taken in rotation, for short periods of time, by each of the professors. Under the *rendör*, a system of subordination is established somewhat similar to the monitorial system at our public schools. From the eldest scholars — I believe from the students of law and theology—a sort of standing council is formed, which the *rendör* calls in as his assessors whenever any breach of discipline has to be punished. Besides this, in every room an elder boy is charged with the duty of maintaining order. The room serves as a study by day

and a dormitory by night. As a proof of their poverty, the professors pointed out to me the number of boys they were obliged to crowd in one room.

While I was there a boy in one of the junior classes was brought up for punishment for stealing a cluster of grapes out of a vineyard. On being asked what could have induced him to do so, he answered that for the last two months he had had nothing to eat except his daily *czipó*. The eyes of the masters, his judges, could not help filling with tears, and the boy was dismissed with a reprimand. This instance alone will show how very poor are a large portion of the scholars of Enyed. The mediæval association of poverty and learning, which so much commends itself to Mr. Froude, is not quite obsolete in Transylvania. This was the system which hardened Csoma to endure the inclemency of a Thibetan winter and the privations of a Buddhist monastery. The educational establishments of the Protestants in Hungary and Transylvania, as will have been seen, rather resemble the Scotch schools and universities than those of England. It is said that when the Székel brings his son down from the mountains into Enyed, he points out to him the college meadows beneath the town, and with the words, "All that is thine," gives him a kick, as an intimation that no more support is to be expected from him.

In 1850 they had so far recovered heart that they

set to work to scrape among the weeds and grass which grew in the deserted rooms of the school-house, and to make it a fit habitation for human beings. They then gathered a few poor Protestant children out of the town and opened an elementary school. In 1852 the inexorable *Finanz*, the Austrian tax-gatherer, called and began to assess the taxes on the books, benches, and other furniture of the school. It was this which irritated the Protestants so much. Not merely the property of their charitable foundations was taxed, but the very instruments of education, provided out of that already-taxed property, were taxed also. At the same time their Catholic competitors were receiving pecuniary grants from Government. Nor was that the only inequality of treatment of which the Protestants had to complain. The scholars in the Catholic schools were exempted from the conscription on their producing from the principal or masters a certificate to the effect that they were pursuing their studies with diligence and profit, which privilege was denied to the Protestant schools. This pressed the more hardly upon Enyed, as they were trying to establish there a training college for village schoolmasters.

Although none but children belonging to the Reformed Church received material aid, no rule of the institution excluded children belonging to other religious bodies from obtaining their education there.

From the statement the professors gave me, it appears that out of the 1,020 scholars who attended the school in 1864, 877 were Evangelicals of the Helvetic Confession, the remaining 143 being made up as follows :—

88 Roman Catholics.
21 Greek Catholics, or United Greeks.
14 Orthodox, or Non-United Greeks.
15 Evangelicals of the Augustan Confession.
5 Unitarians.

The same statement divided them according to nationality, as follows :—

953 Magyars.	3 Poles.
35 Wallachs.	2 Armenians.
10 Germans.	1 Jew.

The whole amount which the college received from such of its scholars as were considered rich enough to pay for their lodging, firing, &c., was not more than 2,855 florins, Austrian currency, during the year. During the same time it dispersed in prizes, *stipendia*, *czipók*, &c., 8,351 florins. The scholars in the higher classes derived additional support from the parents of such of the younger children as were committed to their care. These *honoraria*, paid sometimes in money, but more often in kind, were estimated to amount in the course of the year to 8,000 florins.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE SAXONS OF TRANSYLVANIA.

Date of their Settlements—Their "University"—Mr. Boner's View of their Privileges—St. Stephen's Maxim—Their Democratic Constitution—The "Regulations" of Francis II.—The "Patricians"—The Lutheran Clergy—A Mediæval Democracy—Subject Communities—The Saxons in 1848-49—Saxon Timidity—Dialect and Peculiarities—Little Influence exercised by them—Their Conservatism—Diminution of the Population—Saxon Peasants.

In 1141, while Gejza II., King of Hungary, was still a child, his regents and guardians determined to colonize the southern portion of Transylvania, which had been laid waste by the oft-repeated incursions of the Kuns or Cumans. It appears that, at the same time, a great many of the inhabitants along the Lower Rhine—according to some, on account of a disastrous inundation—were desirous of finding a new country wherein they might settle. Under these circumstances the Flandrenses, as they are called in the old histories, gladly accepted the invitation of the rulers of Hungary, and transferred themselves with their wives and

children to the Saxon land of Transylvania, where, under the name of Saxons, their descendants have remained unto this day. This colony is the origin of the largest group of Saxon settlements called the *Altland.* There are besides two isolated districts inhabited by mediæval German colonists—the Burzenland, of which Kronstadt is the chief town; in the extreme south-eastern corner of the country—and the district of Bistritz in its extreme north-eastern. The first-named territory had been granted to the Knights of the Teutonic Order, who engaged themselves to defend the frontier against the heathen Cumans. As, however, these warrior priests would acknowledge no other suzerain than the Pope himself, King Andrew II., at the wise advice of his son Béla, drove them out of Transylvania (1224) and gave over the Burzenland to the Saxons. The history of the third colony, that of Bistritz, is more obscure both as regards its origin and the time of its immigration. I believe the most approved theory is that they are an offshoot of the Saxon colony in the Zips in the north of Hungary. It is also certain that a German population had been settled in Bistritz before the inroad of the Mongols in 1240.

These three groups of settlements—the Altland or "Old-land," and the districts of Burzenland and of Bistritz—were incorporated together as the *Universitas Gentis Saxonicæ,* "The University" or "Cor-

poration" of the Saxon nation. The privileges granted to them were so extensive as to have excited the admiration and surprise of recent travellers from Western Europe. What is really curious about them is, that these mediæval privileges continued to exist till late in the present century. In the Middle Ages they would not have appeared at all extraordinary, and when Mr. Boner expresses his surprise at the wisdom of the Hungarian kings, he betrays a strange ignorance of the mediæval history of Europe, and especially of that of Hungary. To invite immigrants from more civilized countries to settle in their dominions, was an obvious device for enriching their treasuries and obtaining reliable allies against their own more turbulent subjects, which was adopted not only by the mediæval Kings of Hungary but by the contemporary Sovereigns of England. But the only way to induce such settlers to accept their invitation was, by conferring upon them the right of governing and defending themselves. Nor was this so peculiar a privilege then as it would be now. The position of the Saxons was not without parallels within the dominions of the Hungarian Crown. The Székels in Transylvania, the Jazygians, and Cumanians in the central plain of Hungary, possessed rights of self-government and defence little, if at all, inferior. Indeed, the autonomy conceded to the Saxon nation was never much more than that enjoyed by a

"worshipful and noble county," and during the present century it became, in fact, something considerably less. If Mr. Boner had thought for a moment of the autonomy possessed by the great vassals and imperial cities of Germany during the Middle Ages, he would have seen less cause to wonder at the treatment the Transylvanian Saxons received from the Hungarian kings. What strikes the student of European history is not the wisdom of these kings, but their comparative want of success. The distinguishing feature of Hungarian history — and if I mistake not, of Polish also—is the insignificant part played by the towns of these two countries as compared with those of Western Europe. The true explanation of this phenomenon is to be found in the much larger measure of Roman civilization which the latter inherited. During the Middle Ages the contrast between Germany and Hungary was the same as that between Italy and Germany, or between England and Ireland. The progress of mediæval civilization was, in fact, the gradual victory of the Roman elements of society in their struggle with the barbarian.

The state-craft of the first Magyar ruler that assumed the title of king consisted in encouraging divisions among his subjects. "*Unius linguæ uniusque moris Regnum imbecille et fragile est*," was the favourite maxim of St. Stephen; in this he was followed by

many of his successors, especially by those of the House of Habsburg. This evil principle has prevailed so long in the country that even its victim, the Hungarian nation, has become, to a great degree, imbued with its spirit. Since 1848 Hungary has become in theory an united democratic country. But it is much easier to abolish by summary legislation pernicious and obsolete privileges than to eradicate the feelings which were at once their cause and effect. The separatist sentiments which animate so many individuals of the Saxon nation find, unfortunately, their parallels amongst the Hungarians themselves, to say nothing of the other nationalities.

As I mentioned in a previous chapter, the Saxons were a democratic people, and their original constitution was one calculated to secure the largest possible amount of democratic liberty. Their chief magistrate, who bore the title of Comes, Graf, or "Count," was elected by the nation. The several municipalities elected representatives who together formed a sort of national legislature. By a natural metonymy the word "University," which properly designated the whole nation, was applied to this representative assembly. A peculiar feature of the Saxon constitution was that all the Saxons were citizens (*Bürger*), none of them being either nobles or peasants. The divisions of their territory were not called "counties," but "districts" and "seats." In all these the seat or

district and its chief town formed but one municipality. No social or political distinctions were made between the citizen who lived in the fenced city, and the citizen who lived in the open field. Both classes voted together for the magistrates who governed their common municipality. As amongst the Székels, the property of a Saxon who died without heirs fell not to the Crown but to the "neighbours," or to his commune. In this constitution the Comes was, as it were, the culminating point of the whole democracy.

This truly liberal organization was, however, changed — indeed I might say *inverted* — by the regulations promulgated by the royal decrees of the Emperor Francis II. in 1795, 1797, and 1805. From some cause or another the Saxon nation had allowed itself—to quote the words of a Saxon friend of mine —"to be demoralized by humane despotism." Consequently they did not resist these unconstitutional decrees as they should have done. The Saxon University had the same right and power of passing statutes as the "congregation" of a Hungarian county, that is, so far as they only affected members of their own body or persons under their jurisdiction, and were not contrary to the laws of the land. The reform party, commonly known as the "Young Saxons," hold that in accepting the "regulations" of Francis II. the University exceeded its powers. Practically, however, they were in force from 1805 to

1848. Their effect was to degrade the whole Saxon nation, and the several municipalities of which it was composed, to the level of the Royal Free Cities in Hungary. In the place of the whole body of citizens they substituted in each municipality the so-called *communität*, a permanent body keeping up its numbers by self-election. Previously the magistrates had been elected by the whole body of the citizens, subject to no other restriction than that of choosing one from their own municipality. By the regulations the Comes obtained the right of nominating three persons for each post, from whom the *communität* elected one. As these magistrates elected the representatives of their municipality in the University, and this assembly elected the Comes, the Saxon constitution was thus changed from being one of the most to one of the least popular in its character. These regulations, of which Mr. Boner does not make any mention, should always be borne in mind by the student of Transylvanian history. The Saxon authorities have of course been defenders of the system to which they owed their official position, and have of late years been conspicuous for their adherence to the cause of the Viennese centralists. On the other hand the reform party, or "Young Saxons," were naturally led to ally themselves with the Hungarians. At present the organization of the Saxon nation, like everything else in Transylvania, is provisional. At the time of my

visit to the country the Old Saxon party, under the patronage of the Freiherr von Schmerling, were in power.

One or two other points must here be mentioned, in order to prevent the reader forming an exaggerated idea of the liberalism of Saxon democracy. The Saxon-land was not held by large landed proprietors, but divided, in comparatively small plots, amongst well-to-do citizen peasants, whose thrift and caution made great poverty or great wealth equally rare. In other words, all Saxons belonged to a middle class. A true aristocracy was expressly excluded. Although individual Saxons had become Hungarian nobles, and had even received magnate titles, their position in the Saxon-land was not thereby improved. Two classes of persons alone were sufficiently raised above the common level to become socially and politically the leaders of the people. They were the "patricians" and the Lutheran clergy. It is a singular instance of the change of meaning which words undergo, that the Saxons called a class "patricians" who closely resembled the "*nobiles*" of the latter days of the Roman Republic, while the "*nobiles*" of the Hungarian law-books correspond to the "patricians" of primitive Rome. The Saxon "patricians" were the members of certain families who, by holding together, had acquired a practical monopoly of the public offices. They thus formed a

sort of bureaucratic substitute for a recognized aristocracy, and became the leaders of society in the little towns nestled amongst the southern Carpathians, whose burghers, far from imperial Vienna and the great German mother-land, still held themselves aloof from the alien society of the Hungarian magnates and squires of Transylvania.

As the absence of a territorial aristocracy created the social importance of the "patricians," so it increased that of the Lutheran clergy. A peculiarity of the ecclesiastical history of the nation had placed them in a peculiarly favourable position. At the time of the Reformation there were no rapacious aristocrats, great or small, to appropriate to themselves the property of the Church, under the pretence of restoring the purity of religion. A corporation of burghers were naturally under less temptation to diminish the incomes of their own spiritual pastors than an individual landlord. Consequently, the Lutheran pastors of the Saxon-land were left in possession of the religious foundations of the Middle Ages, and thus placed in a position which was not only superior to that of the Protestant clergy in other parts of the Hungarian kingdom, but excited the envy of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Their material wealth enabled them to procure a high-class education, and it became the rule to appoint only such persons to the cure of Saxon souls as had com-

pleted their theological studies in some German Protestant university. The Hungarian Calvinist clergy of Transylvania were equally alive to the advantages of a foreign education, but poverty prevented the majority of them from enjoying it. An affectionate remembrance of the "great mother-land," as the Saxons call Germany, is perhaps the most sentimental feeling that stirs their utilitarian bosoms. This feeling, and the respect they felt for their clergy, afforded one another mutual support. It is surely not unfair to attribute the ultra-Conservative character of the Saxons and the policy they have pursued during the present century to the leadership of the patricians and the pastors.

The second point to which I would draw the reader's attention is, that the Saxon democracy, like all other mediæval democracies, was strictly national, all non-Saxon inhabitants of the Saxon-land being excluded from a participation in its advantages. This might be considered by us of the present day the more extraordinary when we consider that these non-Saxons were subjects of the same crown and inhabitants of the same country. What was technically called the *concivilität*, or participation in political privileges, was refused to both Hungarians and Wallachs until 1830. I did not learn anything about the line of policy adopted by the Saxons with respect to immigration of non-noble Hungarians. With regard to

Hungarian noblemen and Wallach peasants the Saxons made a great difference in the treatment of these two classes of immigrants, or would-be immigrants. As the Hungarian nobility were the ruling class in the kingdom, they had always striven, for the most part successfully, to place the members of their order above all authority which did not directly emanate from themselves. Thus a Hungarian nobleman, who was at the same time a burgher of a Royal Free City, could always disavow the authority of the town magistrates, and appeal to those of the county, in all criminal and civil suits, except those in which real property situated within the limits of the borough was concerned. The Saxons, therefore, took great trouble to exclude such troublesome persons from their territory, and either by actual municipal enactments, or the force of public opinion, prevented owners of real property in the Saxon-land from selling it to Hungarians. As regards the Wallachs, I do not know whether it is true that during the last two or three centuries they have increased out of proportion to the other inhabitants in the land. Certain it is that at the present day they form the majority of the population of the Saxon-land. I once asked a Saxon, if it was true that they made laws to prohibit a Saxon from selling his land to a Wallach. He answered that the Saxons held the Wallachs in such contempt that they did not make provision for so unlikely a contingency. A

large proportion of the Wallach population of the Saxon-land were mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. They were hired labourers, herdsmen, and shepherds. Besides these, however, there were, up to 1848, "subject" communes. Of these some were Hungarian, but the greater part Wallach. The free communes, or villages of Saxons, were, as I have before mentioned, copartners on a perfect footing of equality in the powers and privileges of the Saxon towns. The Hungarian and Wallach villages, on the contrary, were subjects of the Saxon municipalities, standing to them in the same relation in which the *jobbágyok*, or subject-peasants of a village in a Hungarian county, stood to their lord. Some of these subject-communes were the vassals of some one particular Saxon municipality; others, again, belonged to the University of the Saxon nation. We may here see some analogy to the complicated arrangements of the Swiss Confederation during the last century, where there were bailiwicks which were subject, some to individual cantons, some to two or more, and some to the whole Confederation.

Until 1790, the institution of the *votum curiatum*, or voting by nations, had existed in the Transylvanian Diet. Each of the three political nations—the Hungarians, the Székels, and the Saxons—had a legislative veto. Even after that date it was necessary that the seal of each nation should be affixed to every

new law before it became valid. As the seal of the Hungarians was kept in the custody of the lord-lieutenant of the county of Alsó-Fehér, so that of the Saxons was entrusted to the Comes. This magistrate, in 1848, affixed the seal of the Saxon University to the law decreeing the legislative union of Hungary and Transylvania, and the Saxons proceeded to send representatives to sit in the united Diet which met at Pest in that year. But, when it became evident that the absolutist Camarilla in Vienna had succeeded in stirring up a civil war against the newly-established Hungarian Government, the Saxon authorities declared that the consent of their nation to the Union had never been given, that the Comes had been terrified by the mob of Kolozsvár, and recalled their deputies from Pest. In the struggle that ensued, the majority, or what appeared to be the majority, of the Saxons took part with the Austrians against the Hungarians. In so doing they considered themselves acting up to the national device, *Ad retinendam coronam*, "In defence of the crown," which had been originally conferred upon them by the mediæval kings of Hungary. In 1849, the Hungarians lost by their defeat their constitution, their municipal organization, and, as far as it could be taken from them, their nationality. But the Croats, the Saxons, the Serbs, who had fought in the opposite camp, found, to their disappointment and disgust, that they had

by their victory brought on themselves the same fate. Those exclusive and long-cherished rights, which the Saxons would not abandon to a great and united Hungary, had now to be sacrificed to a great and united Austria. The policy of Schwartzenberg and Bach, who attempted to make the Austrian Empire "one and indivisible," even as France is, spared neither friend nor foe. What was inflicted on the latter as punishment, was conferred on the former as reward. The old mediæval separatist constitution was shaken to its foundations by the Austrian bureaucracy. It is now being cleared away by the present Hungarian Government. Not that this is done avowedly, or perhaps willingly, but merely in half-conscious compliance with the spirit and exigencies of the age.

On the whole, it cannot be said that the Saxon nation played a very creditable part in the politics of Transylvania during the first sixty years of this century. Indeed, their *rôle* in history has never been a very important one, which need not surprise any one who considers their national character and position. They have never been anything else than a *bourgeois* peasantry, with the petty virtues and petty vices characteristic of such a class. Individual wealth was the goal of Saxon aspirations. They were not merely deficient in military courage, but even in civic. Mr. Paget tells an amusing story of their caution, carried to the verge of timidity. When the Transylvanian

Diet sent a deputation to remonstrate with the Emperor Francis with regard to the violation of their constitution, two Saxons were included in the number, but when the dreaded day came both of them were taken suddenly ill. The Emperor, when he heard of it, exclaimed, with a laugh, "Ah! ah! a school-sickness! a school-sickness!" The magistrates of the Saxon nation were, not without reason, entitled *prudentes et circumspecti.* A Saxon, who acted as my driver through a district that had been the scene of some of the sanguinary struggles of 1849, told me that he had been called out, together with the other national guards of the Saxon district, but that they were not called out a second time. He characteristically added, "*Was kann ein Bürger machen der nichts gelernt hat?*" "What can a citizen do who has not learnt anything?" I could not help smiling at the fellow's honesty; but thought to myself, "One would never hear such a sentiment from a Magyar mouth."

These German colonists brought with them several German dialects, the use of which has survived to the present day. The Saxons who are able to speak High German use their own dialect in the more familiar intercourse of life. A friend of mine belonging to that nation told me that the Transylvanian Hungarians have a better style in German composition than their Saxon neighbours, which he attributed to the household use of the ancestral dialects. It

may, at any rate, be presumed that they have had the effect of intensifying the narrow-minded conservatism so eminently characteristic of the people who speak them. Queerly enough, Mr. Boner supposes the reason why the Saxon civilization "had no influence on the surrounding non-German population" to be that "the laws determining the world's development were immutable, and that all culture and progress *must* advance from East to West." Unfortunately, Mr. Boner, by his own confession, derived all his knowledge of Transylvanian history from Saxon authorities, especially from Dr. Teutsch. If he had known more of the Hungarian population of Transylvania, he would have found that the difference in politics and morals between them and the Saxons was by no means so great as he imagined. Many of the maxims which he attributes to the latter were derived from the former nation. Even in minute particulars, the Saxon has imitated his Turanian neighbours. Mr. Boner observed the peculiar way in which a Saxon peasant replies to a question. "If you ask, 'Have you any fruit?' he does not answer 'Yes,' but 'We have.' 'Can that be done?'—'It can.'" Now this is exactly the way any Hungarian would answer. But of this fact Mr. Boner was, of course, ignorant.

Here I may as well remark that the Transylvanian Saxons, like the great majority of German colonists

on Hungarian soil, have at first sight a much closer resemblance to their Hungarian fellow-countrymen than to their kinsmen in the distant mother-land. More careful examination may produce a different impression; but on a first view of them it is their Hungarian peculiarities of dress, the Hungarian character of their implements, and domestic cattle and other external surroundings, which strike the eye of the traveller.

Dr. Teutsch and his friends cherish a perhaps not unnatural delusion that the civilization of Transylvania is derived from the Saxons. The account I have given of their national position and character may have proved the improbability of his opinion. One fact will show how second-rate was the part they played in education as in politics; they have never established an university in the country. All the intellectual Saxons have been educated abroad, in Great Germany, just as the ambitious among the poor Székler students have had to seek knowledge at Leipzig and Leyden. Indeed the most Saxon of the Saxons, *i.e.* those of Hermannstadt, did not learn the Hungarian and Wallachian languages, and could not, therefore, be expected to exercise much influence over those who speak them. Certain it is that I never met a Hungarian who admitted the justice of Dr. Teutsch's claims, and yet none of them denied that the civilization of the two Magyar countries has been, for the

most part, derived from Germany. But the Saxons have not been the channel through which it has been conveyed. Magyars have themselves gone out into foreign parts to seek the fruits of the tree of knowledge, and have imported German books and German ideas.

As I have before observed, individual wealth was the goal of Saxon efforts. But it was pursued by old-fashioned and conservative methods. The Saxon was not a speculator, an adventurer, or an innovator in the arts of money-making any more than in politics. He belonged to a community which had never heard of Mr. John Stuart Mill, but whose practice had in many points anticipated his theories. In order that he and his family might remain *wohlhabend*, "well-to-do," he lived poorly, worked laboriously, and strictly limited the number of his offspring to two, or at most three.* He has had his reward. The Saxons are the most peaceable, orderly, well-clothed, well-housed population in Transylvania. In few countries this side the Atlantic is the standard of individual comfort so high; but the nation, as such, has suffered by it. At the time of the Reformation it amounted to 300,000 souls, at the present day it counts but two-

* A similar state of things prevails in many parts of Germany. "Im untern Maingrunde hält der Bauer so fest an der Sitte, dass sie in Unsittlichkeit umschlägt."—*Die bürgerliche Gesellschaft*, von W. H. RIEHL. p. 54. See, too, Mr. BONER'S *Transylvania*, p. 275.

thirds of that number. Everywhere the traveller meets with villages which were once Saxon, but are now either Hungarian or Wallachian.

Throughout this chapter I have been speaking with reference to the *free* Saxon communities which formed together the corporation of the *Universitas Gentis Saxonicæ.* These were all settled on the royal domains, the so-called *Königsboden.* There were, however, Saxon colonies planted in the counties of the Hungarian-land, which had no part in the privileges of their more fortunate brethren, but were subject to the same disabilities as the peasants of Magyar or Rouman blood. Of these many, through impoverishment, or from other causes, have lost their nationality and become magyarized or wallachized. Others had retained their Saxon nationality when they were emancipated in 1848. Not having had the same position to keep up in the world, these subject-peasants did not limit their families so generally or so systematically as the free Saxons.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

HERMANNSTADT AND THE DIET IN 1864.

Mühlbach—First View of Hermannstadt—Grass-grown Streets—German Clothes—Bruckenthaler Museum—The Provincial Diet in 1864—Schmerling's Schemes—A new Electoral Law—Attitude of the Hungarian Party—A Trilingual Legislature—Appearance of the Assembly—A Soldier's Child—The New Regalists—The Debate—Subsequent Changes.

AT the time of my visit Hermannstadt was distant from Kolozsvár one long day's journey by diligence. The first Saxon town I saw was Mühlbach, where we stopped for an early supper. A hurried glance at the town showed me that it was not very different from the idea I had been led to form of the Saxon towns—places which preserve but little of mediæval beauty but a great deal of mediæval quaintness. Remains of old walls and gates, fortified churches, their roofs adorned with particoloured tiles, are their most striking features. Their architects seem for the most part to have worked in brick, not in stone. I subsequently visited Hermannstadt, Kronstadt, Reps, and Schässburg.

By the time the coach reached Hermannstadt it was already dark, and I was fast asleep, so that my first ideas of this town were derived from a stroll through its streets the next morning. The result was certainly disappointing, perhaps because I had expected too much. When I had thought of Hermannstadt, it had been as the old-established capital of the Saxon nation—of the people, whose boast it was that they alone in Eastern Europe bore up the tottering banner of civilization—as the city which the Viennese Government delighted to honour above all the cities of Transylvania, as the residence of the governor, and the seat of the Diet. Hermannstadt, in 1864, was, indeed, all this, nevertheless it is a city which has seen its best days, whose glory has departed. In spite of its more picturesque site, it cannot compare in appearance with Kolozsvár. The houses are smaller, the pavement is much worse, and along the middle of the street runs an awkward, ugly gutter. The town is built on an irregular eminence of no great height, in view of the great range of the southern Carpathians. Much of the old walls still remains in a state of picturesque and slovenly dilapidation.

But two points about Hermannstadt made the greatest impression upon me,—its visible stagnation and intense Germanism. The grass literally grew not merely on its broken-down brick ramparts, but even in its very streets. Their aspect gave one the

idea that the inhabitants spent a great deal of time between the sheets, and the rest of it in doing nothing in bureaux. As a Hungarian observed to me, when I remarked this to him: "The town is dead; the Saxon has not life in his veins as we have." As for its Germanism, that struck me the more as I had been living for two months amongst Magyars and Wallachs: during that time I had not once seen that ugliest, that most grotesque of all articles of costume, a swallow-tailed coat,—no, not even on the back of a Jew. Here they abounded. In the streets walked about men with closely shaven faces, in tight-fitting evening dress, raising every five minutes their chimney-pot hats—"cylinders of civilization"—as they exclaimed: "*Guten Morgen, Herr Rath;*" or "*Ergebenster Diener, Herr Obrist.*" I could have supposed myself fallen from the sky over-night into some provincial town of North Germany, were it not for the Wallach servant-girls in their *négligé*, very *négligé* costumes. Their dark eyes, their southern features, and the loud, clear, liquid tones of their Neo-Latin language, as they slopped and gossipped around the fountains, continually reminded me that I was indeed far, far away from the *Lűnebűrger Heide.*

The chief lion of Hermannstadt in ordinary times is the Bruckenthaler Museum. It is kept in a large palace, built in the Italian style of architecture, and contains a library, a picture-gallery, and a natural history

collection, especially rich in mineralogical specimens. Natural history studies, but especially mineralogy, have monopolized by far the greater part of the activity of the Saxon intellect. They are practically useful: the country affords exceptional facilities for their pursuit; and they are, above all, eminently safe. The most jealous administration could not scent out anything wrong in a treatise on fossils or a theory about the formation of metallic veins. The mineral riches of Transylvania are at once abundant and varied, comprising gold, silver, lead, copper, iron, coal, salt, &c. Both its fauna and flora are extensive on account of the great varieties of climate to be found within its contracted limits. Of these advantages the Saxons have known how to avail themselves.

At the time of my visit (the summer of 1864) the provincial Diet of Transylvania was holding its second session in Hermannstadt. As this legislative body has since ceased to exist, one or two words with respect to its origin and character will not be superfluous. I have mentioned in a previous chapter that the Diets of Hungary and Transylvania in the year 1848 voted the legislative union of the two countries. Separate bureaucratic administrations were provided for the two after the suppression of the Hungarian Constitution in 1849.

When the Hungarian Diet, after an interval of thirteen years, was convoked in the summer of 1861,

no elections for that assembly were allowed to be held in Transylvania. The Freiherr von Schmerling was at that time the head of the Viennese Government, and his principles were constitutional liberty if possible, but the preservation of the unity of the Empire at any price. The Hungarian Diet refused to give up the independence of the Hungarian kingdom in favour of the unity of the Empire; and that assembly, which had been convoked on the 6th of April, 1861, was dissolved on the 21st of August of the same year. Having thus failed in obtaining the adhesion of the greater Hungarian fatherland, the Austrian Minister determined to try what he could do with the lesser. The German statesman seems to have imagined that by gaining over the detached portions of the Hungarian kingdom to his scheme of a common legislature for the whole Austro-Hungarian Empire (as it is now called), he should succeed in impressing on Hungary Proper a sense of its isolation and of the consequent futility of its resistance. The opposition to his scheme of centralization was so strong in Croatia, that that country could never be induced to let itself be represented at Vienna. In the case of Transylvania he was more successful. That "crown-land" did send fourteen deputies to take their seats in the Austrian Reichsrath. In consonance with the unreality which pervaded Herr von Schmerling's would-be constitutionalism, the presence

of these fourteen Transylvanians was held sufficient to change the "narrower" (*engerer*) Reichsrath which legislated for the Austrian Empire, *exclusive* of the Hungarian kingdom, into the "wider" (*weiterer*) Reichsrath, competent to legislate for the whole Empire, *inclusive* of that kingdom.

A provincial Diet for the principality of Transylvania was convoked on the 15th of August, 1863. A new electoral law was promulgated by an arbitrary decree of the Sovereign for the elections to this provincial legislature. The provisions of this new electoral law differed from those of the old aristocratic constitution before 1848, and from that established by the reforms of that year. Herr von Schmerling's measure lowered the property qualification of a voter to one-half of what it was fixed at in 1848, and thereby doubled the number of electors. By an ingenious redivision of the country into new electoral districts the number of seats likely to be gained by Magyars and Székels was diminished. At the same time care was taken that the Saxons should not be swamped by the mass of Roumans who form the majority of the inhabitants of the Saxon-land. As the Government could reckon, in almost all cases, on the support of the Saxon deputies, it imagined that it could control the assembly by playing off the Magyar and Rouman deputies against one another. This calculation was, however, defeated by the courage, fore-

sight, and discipline of the Hungarian party. The Magyar and Székel deputies met together in Hermannstadt a few days before the opening of the Diet, and with characteristic unanimity determined not to take their seats in the unconstitutional assembly, but to present a protest to the Crown explaining the grounds of their absence. Not only did the elected Hungarian members thus act, but even of the "regalists" nominated by the Crown to seats in that assembly, the great majority followed the example of the deputies. The opposition of the Hungarian party was the more embarrassing to the Government, as it included, with but trifling exceptions, the whole aristocracy and gentry of the principality. In the Assembly itself their absence disturbed the equilibrium which had been so artfully contrived between the three nationalities. Only two parties were now left face to face with each other — a Saxon minority and a large Rouman majority. The members of the first, although often ultra-Conservative, pedantic, professorial, and narrow-minded, were, at least, men of civilization, education, and property. The Rouman majority was, for the most part, composed of communistic demagogues or members of the lower ranks of the Government service — poor, ignorant, or servile. On two points, however, the Saxons and Roumans were agreed: in ignoring the absence of the Hungarian members as a matter of no consequence, a mere im-

potent exhibition of aristocratic *morgue;* and in carrying out the centralizing scheme of the Austrian Minister by sending fourteen representatives of the Transylvanian Diet to sit in the Reichsrath at Vienna. On the other hand, on almost all points affecting purely Transylvanian interests, and the internal organization of the principality, the Saxons and Roumans were radically and irreconcilably opposed.

A Hungarian friend had given me a letter of introduction to the President of the Diet, on whom I called the afternoon after my arrival, and the next morning he gave me a ticket of admission to the gallery. It was a significant fact, as showing the respect with which a weak government, such as the Schmerling Ministry, treats the most recalcitrant nationalities, that this gentleman, nominated by the Crown to preside over an assembly of Saxons and Roumans, was himself a Magyar. My ticket of admission gave on the very face of it notice of the Babel to be expected within, being printed in three languages, Hungarian, German, and Wallachian. To show the reader at a glance how utterly unlike these three languages are, I give the inscription at full:—

> Bementi Jegy az országgyülési karszatra.
> Eintritts Karte in die Gallerie des Landtages.
> *Biletu de intrare in galeria dietei.*

Nor is the order in which these three languages

are arranged indifferent. The official designations of the Hungarian, German, and Rouman languages was then respectively the first, second, and third "languages of the land." Every deputy had the option of speaking in one or other of them.

The Diet sat in the ball and concert room of one of the miserable hotels in the town. In the middle of one side of the room was the throne; when I saw it, it was, carefully covered up, like best drawing-room furniture when "the family is gone out of town." Above it hung a large portrait in oil of the Cæsar-King. On the right hand of the throne was the seat of the president, and in the same line with him sat the two vice-presidents; before them the three *Schriftführers*, one for each language. In different parts of the house were placed six shorthand writers, two for each language. On the left-hand side of the throne sat the representatives of the government, the *Gubernial-Commissär*, and his assessor, with the rank and title of a *Gubernial-Rath*. Behind these were the two *Referents*, or spokesmen of the majority and minority of the committee which had been considering and preparing the question before the Diet for discussion. The benches in the body of the house were arranged in somewhat the same way as those of a Greek theatre, and divided into three *cunei*. That on the right was supposed to belong to the Hungarian and Székel members; that on the left to the Wallachs,

or Roumans. The central *cuneus* was allotted to the Saxons; I presume because they were supposed to feel a moderate and rational hostility to both the other parties.

I had seated myself in the gallery so as to command a view of the whole assembly at once, when a man in military, or, more correctly speaking, semi-military uniform, came in and sat beside me. My asking him a question with respect to something I wanted to be explained broke the ice. He asked politely with whom he had the honour of conversing. I gave an account of myself, and, in turn, asked with whom I had the honour, etc. He turned out to be the captain of the *gendarmerie.* Speaking of the three languages in which business was being carried on, I alluded to the third of them, as "*wallachisch.*" Now he had before used the word "*rumänisch,*" but now he corrected himself, saying, "*Wie sie bemerkt haben—wallachisch.*" So, perceiving that whatever else he might be, he was not a Wallach, I asked him, "To which nationality do you reckon yourself to belong?" "To none of them," was his answer; "I belong to the army; I am a soldier's child." I remember an Austrian officer observing to me: "The best of all things is that the army belongs to no nationality, or rather it is a nationality apart." This is not strictly true as regards the private soldiers, but is sufficiently near the truth to justify a French military

writer in calling the army the sole, although very powerful support of the Austrian Empire.*

But this is a digression. As I said, the seats on the right side of the house were, in theory, appropriated to such members, whether elected or nominated, as belonged to the Hungarian nationality. This part of the house, however, made only a beggarly account of empty benches. If my memory does not deceive me, there were, at the time of my visit, not more than six or seven of them present, the majority of whom were not elected deputies, but "regalists," nominated by the Crown. As I have mentioned in a previous chapter, the "regalists," before 1848, were necessarily members of the higher aristocracy of the country; but, in the Diet of 1863-64, the institution had been considerably modified. The Schmerling Government always lay claim to the appellation "liberal," which it sought to substantiate by unimportant and indecisive concessions to the democratic spirit of the age. The "regalists" in Transylvania were to be chosen so as to represent the most important interests of the community, such as nobility, property, commerce, religion, science, &c. The consequence was that, while they had gained over one or two of such Magyars as were supposed to represent commerce, science, &c., not one member of the former class of regalists was to be found on the benches of

* *Military Sketches*, by Sir C. F. LASCELLES WRAXALL, p. 152.

the Diet. As a Hungarian newspaper expressed it: "The regalists at present at Hermannstadt may represent whatever they please, but not the old historic families, nor the great proprietors of Transylvania."

Now, it so happened that the debate to which I listened was a discussion respecting this very institution of the "regalists." This provincial Diet was, in fact, not merely a *legislative*, but also a *constituent* assembly. Its debates were, for the most part, concerned with the future constitution of the province. The constitution at that time in force had been created by an arbitrary decree of the Emperor-King, and was avowedly only "provisional" (*provisorisch*). That word, or rather the state of things which it denotes, has been for a long time, perhaps still is, the curse of the whole Austro-Hungarian Empire.* This was especially the case in 1864. "It would be a great comfort to us," said Baron B. to me, "if the Government would only make up its mind once for all what it means to do with us. The worst decision it could come to could not be worse than this series of provisional regulations continually superseding one another."

The first two speakers on the morning of my visit were two Saxons, who spoke as German essayists should speak. The first showed that the representa-

* Compare the remarks of Sir C. F. Lascelles Wraxall on this subject. *Military Sketches*, pp. 155, 169.

tion of different interests was an obsolete idea; one very well suited to the Middle Ages, but quite out of place in a modern state; that the course of recent events tended to fuse all the different interests of the country together, so as to make the people, as far as interests were concerned, one homogeneous whole; that this homogeneous whole was represented by the elected members; and that, consequently, regalists were clearly superfluous. The second speaker inveighed against all aristocracies in general, and the Hungarian aristocracy in Transylvania in particular, to whom he attributed all the misfortunes which had ever befallen the principality. This brought up a defender of the injured class, in the person of László fy, the mayor or burgomaster of the Armenian town of Szamos-Ujvár. The Armenians, be it parenthetically remarked, like other fragmentary populations, such as the Jews and Gypsies, identify themselves with the Magyars, rather than with any other nationality in the country. M. László fy was, consequently, regarded as a valuable convert by the Government, and as a renegade by his fellow-citizens, being one of the few deputies of the Magyar "tongue" who took his seat in the assembly.

At that time, I was not so well acquainted with the Hungarian language as I am now, and, consequently, could not follow the course of the debate. Indeed, some of the speakers spoke in Wallachian, a

language unintelligible, not only to myself, but also to the president of the assembly. This circumstance induced two of the Rouman speakers to drop their national dialect, and address the house, one in German, the other in Hungarian, thus drawing upon themselves indignant remonstrances from their co-nationalists. After the adjournment of the debate, I dined at the president's table. As that gentleman expressed himself on political matters with the most diplomatic reserve, it is no breach of confidence on my part to say that he did not seem to have much faith in the success of the political manœuvre he was employed to carry out. Indeed, the Viennese Government had so often changed its policy during the foregoing sixteen or seventeen years, that every man of ordinary prudence might have been prepared for a change in any direction. The Diet of Hermannstadt has become a thing of the past, and left scarcely a trace of its having ever existed, and its president occupies a comfortable office under the Hungarian Government. Even the most violent "devourers of the Magyars" (*magyarfalók*), who declared that they would under no circumstances sit in a Hungarian Diet at Pest, have seen cause to change their minds. It is now from the same Diet that they await the reorganization of their municipal system. As yet, however, everything in Transylvania is provisional.

CHAPTER XXIX.

KRONSTADT.

Hotel No. 1—The Pavement—The Market-place—Romantic Situation of the Town—The Kapellenberg—A Russian Monument—Panoramic View—Manufacturing Industry—The Dom Kirche—Crosses, Vestments, and Chalices—Date of the School—Brasso and Kronstadt—Fortunes of the Town—Pacificator of the World—Székler Influence—Striking Contrasts of the Town and Neighbourhood—Adventure of a Saxon Sportsman.

As I only stayed three days in Hermannstadt, and during that time associated with some of the few Hungarians, my knowledge of the Saxons is derived from books and hearsay, or from what I saw of them at Kronstadt. To this latter town I proceeded straight by diligence. The journey occupied a long summer's day, which was agreeably spent in a large company of fellow-passengers. It was late in the evening when, with two Prussians and a Hungarian, with whom I had fraternized on the way, I took up my quarters at the hotel "Numero Eins," "Number One." Sallying

forth the next morning to explore the town, we found that "Number One" was situated just without the city walls, which here, as elsewhere, fail to include all the houses of the place within their circle. The gate leading into the city is but a few yards off, and is called the "Kloster Thor," after some monastery which has long since disappeared. Entering by this Kloster Thor we came upon the principal street of the place, whose paving presents an agreeable contrast to most Transylvanian or Hungarian towns. It is a sort of mosaic of small blue and white stones, embedded in cement, and is at at once safe, pleasant to the foot, and pleasant to the eye. But there is a drawback to everything, and many of the citizens complain that it cost them a great deal of money. It was done by a Bohemian, who has sought to secure fame by having his name done in the mosaic on one side of the street by the Kloster Thor, and the date, 1857, on the other. A few steps further on we come in front of the Roman Catholic Church, a modern building of no architectural or archæological interest. In front of it we read, worked in the pavement, "*Quæ via vitæ?*"

A little further on is the market-place, which is really in the form of a trapezium, but with one of its sides so short that M. de Gérando speaks of it as triangular. In the middle of this space stands the *Rathhaus*, or Town-hall, encumbered, like the great

church at Kolozsvár, by a group of humbler tenements clustered about it. It was built about the year 1420, but has been so often repaired as to have acquired a nondescript character, which, however, did not strike me as out of place in this bizarre town.

The position of Kronstadt is singularly picturesque. It is built on the bed of a dried marsh, in a recess, or secluded valley, between two spurs of the Southern Carpathians, each of which is so high as to be almost worthy of the name of mountains. So closely do they hem in the town, both on the east and the west, that the city walls are built some way up their lower slopes. This recess is completely hidden from the plain of the Burzenland by a hill, in itself of respectable height, but dwarfed by the presence of such lofty neighbours. It is surmounted by a modern fortification, called the Castle, which was defended for a few hours against the Russian Lüders by a small Hungarian garrison, with that desperate, not to say senseless, valour which characterized the Magyars in so many episodes of the revolutionary war. The small valley, thus shut in on three sides, is completely covered by the town, which has extended itself in three directions: one suburb stretching southward up the gorge towards the higher mountains, which suburb is inhabited by Wallachs; two others on each side of the Castle Hill stretch in a north-easterly and north-westerly direction; the

first inhabited, for the most part, by Székels, the second called the Alt Stadt (Old Town) by Saxons.

But the traveller, who would fully appreciate the admirable position of Kronstadt, should follow our example and ascend, without loss of time, the Zinne or Kapellenberg. This is the spur of the Carpathians which flanks the city on the east. It derives its first name from a fort, its second from a chapel, both built on its summit by the Knights of the Teutonic Order. Both buildings have long since disappeared, leaving only their names behind. The Kapellenberg rises sheer from the city walls and is thickly covered with trees. This is one of the elements of the position of Kronstadt, which gives it such a charm of freshness and picturesqueness. It is scarcely an exaggeration on the part of M. de Gérando when he speaks of these trees as being "si fraîches et si rapprochées, qu'on voulait étendre la main pour saisir les feuilles." How refreshing this dark green is for the eyes in the dusty glare of summer, can easily be imagined.

A shady path zigzags up the side of the hill and leads to the ridge at the top. It was our care the morning after our arrival to ascend this path. On reaching the summit we first enjoyed the magnificent view eastward looking toward "the seven villages," "*die sieben Dőrfer*" as they are called, emancipated subjects of Kronstadt, lying in a semicircle on the edge of the plain at the foot of the mountains. These

rise, one after the other, out of the wide flat Burzenland, and stretch southwards; the peak nearest to us is the Schűlerberg.

Turning from this fine view, and taking a few steps so as to bring us to the western edge of the ridge, we come upon a small pyramid or obelisk of brick, erected by the Russian general Lűders to commemorate his victory over the Hungarian commander, the unfortunate Kiss. On the side toward the path by which we approach it, a stone has been built into it, on which was a Latin inscription. This has, however, long since been defaced by means less slow than that of time. The same agencies seem to have been at work to undermine the obelisk itself, and several bricks have been picked out of it near the ground. Altogether the monument does not seem likely long to commemorate the success of the Muscovite invasion of Transylvania. One of my Prussian fellow-travellers rallied his Hungarian friend on the subject, and suggested that the wanton destruction of such an interesting structure was to be attributed to mischievous Magyar hands. He, however, good-humouredly answered that he did not suppose that the Saxons were very anxious to have this memorial of foreign invasion preserved. Nor can there be any doubt that he was right. Of all parties concerned in the Russian intervention of 1849, the Viennese government and its provincial partisans have the least cause

to regard with any satisfaction their share in bringing it about. A Saxon, by no means a philo-Magyar, expressed the view of his nation, or, at any rate, of the anti-Hungarian party in it, by quoting, with reference to that intervention, the well-known line—

Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo.

As long, however, as this little pile of bricks does stand it will tell its tale very effectually. Its site has been so cleverly chosen, that the most heedless *flâneur* who passes through the streets of Kronstadt cannot help noticing it, wondering what it can be, and inquiring after its meaning.

Sitting at its foot we looked down right into the streets of the town, the whole plan of which is distinctly visible from this point: in the centre the almost triangular trapezium of the market-place; the grotesque town-house in the midst; the one large straight street running through it from gate to gate; the blackened old Dom Kirche; the whole compressed into a square by the old walls still standing, with many of the towers, in tolerable preservation: a picture striking, not to say bizarre, from the very close juxtaposition of the past and the present. Southward we see the Wallachian suburb stretching up the narrow valley, with large savage crags on one side, and a wooded mountain on the other. Observe, at the south-western corner of the city, two isolated

towers surrounded with the frames on which the new-made cloth is stretched to dry. Northward, we see the little Castle Hill—little only by comparison; and beyond it a wide-spreading plain perfectly flat, with broad far-reaching lines scored on it with marvellous straightness and directness.

These are the roads to Kezdi-Vásárhely, Sepsi-Szent-György, and Marienburg. I do not know whether my description of the situation of the town has been sufficiently clear to make the reader understand by this time how it is that the traveller who approaches Kronstadt from Hermannstadt on the west, or the Tömöser Pass on the east, sees nothing of the town until he is already in its suburbs. But when he comes from the north, from Marienburg or from Sepsi-Szent-György, as he advances over the level plain he sees the Castle Hill rise slowly before him, like an island out at sea.

Descending from this "specular mount" again into the town, we observe another feature in its appearance, which, in the heat of summer especially, charms the traveller, wearied with the thirsty plains over which he has had so often to pass. This is the number of streams which run rapidly and noisily down their channels through many of the streets, at once cleansing and cooling them. Besides being thus of advantage in a sanitary point of view, they are of use in the many manufacturing processes

carried on here. The whole place has about it an air of life and activity, which struck me the more forcibly from its contrast with the bureaucratic drowsiness of Hermannstadt. The hurry and noise of those well-banked streams add to this impression. Chattering Székler girls, many of them very handsome, crowd the back streets, as they work vigorously at the dyeing-vats, which encumber the way. Tall sturdy Wallachs or Bulgarians stagger along under huge piles of damp, fresh-made cloth, which they are taking outside the walls to spread on frames at the feet of venerable crumbling towers. Inside the houses is heard the still louder din of water-wheels, and the sharp rattle of the busy shuttles. M. de Gérando speaks of Turks, Greeks, &c., being seen every day in the streets of Kronstadt, all wearing their national costumes. That charm the town has now lost. Not but that there are many Greeks, Armenians, &c. still to be found here, but the progress of so-called civilization has made them all don the prosaic and monotonous dress of Western Europe.

The old Dom Kirche, which belongs to the municipal religion, Lutheranism, is an old-looking and picturesque edifice. It was forty years in building (1380-1420), but has since been so often repaired that the interior has quite a modern aspect. The principal feature on the outside which strikes the stranger is the record of its ravages left by the

great fire of 1689. Around the outside of the apse, at the east end, are several life-size images of the saints. They are all much injured. There is a fine arched doorway at the west end. Inside, the arches were found by the German and Hungarian archæologists, in whose company I made my third visit to Kronstadt, to date from 1531. On an old wooden door is cut the date M.CCCC.LXXVII. The metal front bears the date M.CCCC.LXXV., in Gothic letters. We were told that it was brought from Constantinople. If so, I suppose the date must have been added after it was brought hither. It is surrounded by a railing, also of beaten metal, but dating from 1716. There is a similar fretted metal work in front of the altar, which is of the date 1696.

With regard to the practical question of retaining the cross on their churches, as in many other points, the Lutherans maintain an uncertain neutrality between the Catholics and the Reformed. When they live subject to the influence of the latter, the cross quite disappears from the outside of their churches. Where, on the contrary, Catholics are their nearest neighbours, the sign of their common Christianity is plainly visible. In Kronstadt they belong apparently to the High Church party. At any rate, not only are their churches ornamented with the cross, but in the sacristy are preserved objects which would sorely offend the eyes of many English Protestants. These

are the vestments formerly worn by the Catholic priests in the celebration of the mass. They are still used by the Lutheran clergy at the communion service. They are rich, and stiff with beautiful embroidery, and were worked in the præ-Reformation period. One of them is as old as the year 1400, that is to say, of about the same age as the church itself. Besides these vestments we were shown several silver chalices, or communion cups. One of them dates from 1422, the rest were made after the Reformation. Of these, two at least were drinking-cups used in profane feasts, and bequeathed to the church by their owners at death. One of them was a silver beaker, adorned with Cupids vintaging and treading grapes; the other had a winged Cupid standing on the lid. But it is of their organ that the good burghers of Kronstadt are specially proud. They boast that it is, in point of size, the third largest in the world. It was bought by them between the years 1830 and 1840, for the sum of 15,000 florins, and replaced the old one of the date 1710.

Opposite this old church is the Evangelical (Lutheran) Obergymnasium, said to be the best in Transylvania. Over the door is an inscription in two distichs, arranged in two lines:—

OPTIM*V*S ILLE PATER RERUM *C*UI S*V*MMA POTESTAS
*M*USARUM HAN*C* SEDEM PIERIAM*V*E *D*OMUM
PER*V*IGILI STUDIO RENO*V*ARE PATRES PATRIÆ Q*V*AM
*C*URARUNT NUTU PROTEGAT USQ*V*E SUO.

The capitals in italics are gilt, and mark the date of the foundation.

Beside the Dom Kirche, there is another old church in the Alt Stadt or Old Town. In fact, it is much older, having been built by the Knights of the Teutonic Order, but it has been so much injured by time, and still more by repairs, as to merit the sententious criticism of M. de Gérando, "*une petite église byzantine deplorablement replâtrée.*"

This suburb is, in fact, the original Brassó, which name has now come to be extended by the Hungarians and Wallachs to the whole of Kronstadt. Here the first settlers lived under the protection of the fortress on the Zinne, while a mythical dragon, terrible as that of Wantley, haunted the marsh, on which the present town, the part enclosed within the walls, is built. These walls, the Dom Kirche, and the very name of Kronstadt—derived according to the legend from a linen crown, symbolical of its future manufacturing prosperity, which was found in the earth while digging the foundations of the walls —are all contemporaries, and but four centuries old. The town-walls are better preserved and more ornamental than those of either Kolozsvár or Hermannstadt. Like most other cities in this debatable land between Christendom and Islamism, Kronstadt has suffered severely on many occasions. It was sacked by the Tartars in 1236, who burned it again a century

later. During the period of Ottoman suzerainty it had to stand repeated sieges, sometimes from the Turks, sometimes from domestic enemies, in the frequent civil wars which were the curse of Transylvania during the rule of the so-called national princes. The great exploit, which even now the Kronstadter Saxons look back upon with pride, was the defeat, on June 8th, 1611, of Gabriel Báthori, Prince of Transylvania, by Albert Weiss, Oberrichter of Kronstadt. It should, however, be mentioned that Weiss was assisted by Serban Radul, voivode of Wallachia.

As I passed out of the gate leading to the southern or "Wallach Suburb," I found an inscription placed above it informing me that it had been opened in the old wall during the first quarter of the present century: "*Sub glorioso regimine Imperatoris Augusti et Regis Apostolici Francisci Primi, Orbis Pacatoris.*" Who would have thought that "der alte Franzl" played so important a part in history?

Although Kronstadt is a Saxon town, it is very much under the influence of Hungarians and Hungarian ideas. This is partly owing to its proximity to the Széklerland; partly to the fact of its being an active, flourishing town, in which many energetic Magyars have taken up their residence. I was told that its population consisted of 11,000 Saxons, 9,000 Magyars and Székels, and 6,000 Wallachs. Hungarian is the first language which the children of the

well-to-do Kronstadters speak, as almost all their nurses are Székels. They then learn High German, "*Sächsisch*," and Wallachian. Mr. Boner says:* "It is strange that neither the Szekler nor the Wallach, both of whom stand in need of the Saxons, learns German, but each expects the Germans to speak his language. And, which is so thoroughly characteristic, they do so." I do not understand what Mr. Boner means by "thoroughly characteristic." Throughout Hungary and Transylvania the richer, more educated, and employing classes learn the languages of their poorer and less educated neighbours, whom they employ; and not *vice versa*. In Pest, Hungarian is the language of the upper classes, German that of cab-drivers and tavern-waiters, but here in Kronstadt the *rôles* are interchanged.

Here, as everywhere else in Saxonland, the Saxons, especially the girls, have a great repugnance to domestic service, which is supposed to be rather degrading than otherwise. The consequence is that their places are filled in the Saxon towns by Wallachs or Széklers. As Kronstadt is close to, while Hermannstadt is much further off from, the Széklerland, we find in the latter town a preponderance of Wallachs over Széklers, one of the many points in which Hermannstadt is inferior to Kronstadt. For, although

* *Transylvania: its Products and its People*, by CHARLES BONER. p. 250.

an English housekeeper might find many faults in a Székler maid, one may be a very indifferent servant indeed, and yet be superior to a Wallach domestic, such as one sees around the fountains and street pumps of the capital of the Alt Land.

One of my Prussian fellow-travellers, despising the "historical rights" of the Hungarian kingdom, the aspirations of the Wallachs towards a Great Roumania, and all geography, whether political or physical, characteristically spoke of Kronstadt as one of the three most picturesque cities of Germany. The two others, he said, were Grätz and Heidelberg. But this German city, with its grim mediæval Gothic buildings and its solid German burghers, is placed in scenery so wild, and among populations so alien, as to present the most bizarre and striking contrasts. The close contiguity of different forms of civilization —one might, perhaps, say of civilization and barbarism—furnishes just the sort of effects which the author of *Waverley* and *Rob Roy* knew so well how to use. The character of the Baron of Bradwardine, half lawyer, half soldier, pedantic, and good-hearted, might have been sketched from many a Magyar *táblabíró;* nor should we have long to seek for Bailie Nicol Jarvie among the "prudent and circumspect" burghers of the Saxon cities. I have never met with Rob Roy on my travels, but even he might, perhaps, have owned kinship with some of the Wallach

brigands and salt-smugglers. The Saxons of Kronstadt are very fond of field-sports, which is not to be wondered at since in sight of their shops and counting-houses are precipitous mountains and dense thickets, haunted in winter by the wolf and the lynx, while in autumn the unwieldy bear may be met with.

Nor are wild animals the only dangers to be encountered. The provident sportsman reserves one barrel for protection against the Wallachian or Hungarian poacher or smuggler. These people, fostered by the wild character of the country and the vicious financial system of the Government, covet fire-arms and gunpowder more than anything else. A young Saxon shopkeeper of Kronstadt told me that he was once out shooting with a single-barrel gun in one of the vast forests of the Széklerland. He had to pass through an open glade where, at no great distance, stood three Széklers before the door of a small hut. They had with them a wolf-dog, which instantly rushed open-mouthed upon the sportsman. He shouted to them to call the animal off. Instead of doing so they merely looked on and laughed. The Saxon fired, and the dog fell to the ground mortally wounded. "What an accursed shame to shoot a dog," cried the Széklers, and rushed towards the Saxon. "*Jetzt heisst 's laufen*," said the latter, and took to his heels, reloading as he ran. With his light spring-side boots he could run much faster than

his pursuers in their high, heavy, lumbering *csizmák*. By the time his gun was reloaded he looked round and saw that the Székelrs had severally outstripped one another, and were coming on singly. He fired at the foremost, aiming low, and seemed to wound him in the knee; at any rate he fell with a cry of pain, and the young sportsman, continuing his flight, escaped from the wood, nor ever heard anything more of his assailants.

CHAPTER XXX.

WALLACHS, OR ROUMANS.

Origin of the Name of Wallach—Meaning of the Word Rouman—The Dacians—Slav Influence—North and South Slavs—Peculiarities of the Wallachian Language—Rouman Area—A Rouman Map—Chances of Rouman Ascendancy—Wallachian-speaking Magyars—Alleged increase of Roumans—Probable Causes—M. de Gérando on Rouman Courage—Rouman Indolence—Rouman Religion—Superstitions—Stupidity—Cruelty—Jacqueries—Their Causes—Memories of Mutual Injuries—Greatly exaggerated—Incendiarism—Wallachs compared with Serbs and Székels—Landlords' Neglect of the Wallachian Language—The United Greeks—Strategical Importance of Transylvania.

Of the two million which form the population of Transylvania the Wallachs, or Roumans, number twelve hundred thousand. "Wallach" is a German word, being another version of the appellations "Welsh," "Welsch," "Wallon," &c., given by the Teutonic conquerors to the provincials or subjects of the Roman Empire, whether in Britain, Italy, or Gaul. The Hungarian version of "Wallach" is *Oláh*, just as the word "Welsch" has been changed by them into *Olasz*, to designate Italians. The

Wallachs call themselves *Rumun* or *Român.* Of late years a great deal of foolish prejudice has been excited with respect to the use of these names. The Roumans, who hope to raise their co-nationalists to a more important position in the world, resent the appellation of *Wallach* or *Oláh* as an insult. On the other hand, many of their Hungarian enemies persist in calling them *Oláhok* instead of *Románok*, as if the demand for a change was a sign of presumptuous affectation. Equally ludicrous is the dispute about their genealogy. The Wallachs themselves claim to be descended from the military colonists planted in Dacia by the Emperor Trajan, and seem to think that such a descent, if made out, would entitle them to more respectful treatment on the part of their neighbours than if they were to acknowledge themselves the descendants of the conquered Dacians. Of course the real truth of the matter is that they have as much and as little claim to Roman descent as the French, the Spaniards, or any other European people speaking a neo-Latin dialect. Now, so far as anything in ethnology can be considered certain, we may be sure that these modern nations are, in great part, the lineal representatives of the populations occupying their respective countries before the Roman conquest. In fact, the "Latin race," of which we have heard so much, is a mere *ens rationis*, having no existence outside the

brains of the French Emperor and his fellow-enthusiasts. That the modern Roumans are the descendants of the ancient Dacians is a position confirmed by the evidence of the sculptures on the column of Trajan.*

Of course the question then arises, Who were the Dacians? To what race did they belong? The most commonly received theory is that they were Slavs. This theory is supported by two facts: the original names of places in Transylvania, especially of the natural features of the country, seem to be of Slav origin, and the Wallachian language contains a great number of Slav words. A further corroboration of this theory may perhaps be found in the similarity of the peasant costumes of the Wallachs and of the Slav nationalities. A similar foolish sentimentality to that which I have noticed to prevail with respect to the Hungarian language, prevails also with respect to the Wallachian. The Wallachians, on the one hand, try to make out that the percentage of words in their language which are not of Latin origin is very small. On the other hand, their political enemies try to swell the proportion of Slav words as much as possible. As the Wallachian has had no literature until very recently, being merely the language of an illiterate and semi-barbarous peasantry, for the most part subject to alien masters, it is divided into a great number of dialects. The peasant of Marmaros

* See PAGET'S *Hungary and Transylvania*, vol. ii. pp. 111, 112.

and the Bukovina can understand with difficulty, or not at all, the Italianized speech of the citizens of Bucharest. What further tended to depress the language and foster its Slavic elements was the connection of the Roumans with the Oriental Church. In Moldavia, until very recently, the popes were Ruthenians, who obtained the office of pastors of Wallachian-speaking congregations owing to their being more acquainted with the old Slavonic liturgy. Of late years the feeling of nationality has been growing stronger and stronger in the whole Rouman race. This has led not only to aspirations towards political independence and national unity, carrying out the union of the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia in the teeth of Turkey and England, but also to what is called a purification of the language. The Slav and other non-Latin words which it contains are expelled, and the Wallachian forms are, as much as possible, approximated to the modern Italian. A similar feeling has led to the separation of the Orthodox Church in the south of Hungary into two bodies—the Serbs and the Roumans. In former times, when more emphasis was laid upon religious differences than on those of language and nationality, the Orthodox, both Serbs and Wallachs, formed but one ecclesiastical body. In this the Serbs, from their superior wealth, ambition, activity, and social and political importance, had the upper hand, conse-

quently in many parishes their separation was, in fact, an emancipation of a Rouman majority from the ecclesiastical rule of Serb authorities.

I have alluded to the theory that the Dacians were a people of Slav origin, but I myself do not consider it probable. Indeed, I believe that the Slav populations south of the Danube are comparatively recent intruders, and are of very mixed blood. From the historians of the Byzantine Empire we learn that the Avars, the successors of the Huns and the predecessors of the Magyars, planted numerous colonies of their Slavonic vassals in the provinces they had ravaged south of the Danube and the Save. Others came in as independent invaders, or were invited by the Byzantines themselves to fill up the voids left by famine and the sword. As for the purity of their Slavonic blood, I was always struck, in Hungary, by the contrast which the south Slavs present to the genuine Slav population of the northern counties, the Slovacks and the Ruthenians. I know of no evidence which would lead us to suppose that the Pæonians, Pannonians, and other inhabitants of the present South Slav area, in ancient times were Slavs. By this time, too, we know how difficult, if not impossible, it is to extirpate the original inhabitants of any country who are at all raised above the condition of savages. I therefore imagine the present South Slavs to be a population compounded of intrusive Slav elements

and the former inhabitants of the country of whatsoever origin. We know so little about the ethnological relation of these peoples in classical times, that we cannot say what was the degree of relationship of the Dacians, Thracians, and Illyrians to each other and to the Hellenes. Probably a more extensive study of the singular isolated language of the Skipetars or Albanians would throw some light on the subject. At present I will content myself with mentioning two peculiarities of the Wallachian language.

The Latin *k*-sounds are represented in Wallachian by the corresponding *p*-sounds; thus *aqua* becomes *apa*, "water;" *lac*, *lact-is*, becomes *lapte*, "milk;" *noc*, *noct-is*, becomes *nópte*, "night;" *lingua* becomes *limb'a*, "tongue," &c. This we know, also, to have been the case in the dialects of the South of Italy, of the Messapians and Apulians, whom Niebuhr and others have supposed to have been Pelasgians. From this it has been inferred by some that the Roman colonists in Dacia came from the South of Italy, and preserved this dialectical peculiarity; by others that the Dacians themselves were a Pelasgic people.

Another still more striking fact is that the article in Wallachian is placed at the end of the noun; thus the official journal is called *Monitorul,—The Monitor.* Similarly we have *omulu*, "the man;" *casele*, "the houses;" *caracterulu amicului*, "the character of the

friend." Now this construction, which is found in the Wallachian, and in no other neo-Latin language, is found in the Bulgarian, and in no other Slavonic dialect. The Bulgarians and Wallachians are neighbours, and may be supposed to have derived this common peculiarity from the ancient Dacian, a language neither neo-Latin nor Slavonic.

We may leave out of account the Wallach population scattered through the Balkan peninsula, more especially in the mountains of Thessaly and Acarnania, when discussing the political future of the Rouman nationality. The northern section of the race form what in the south-east of Europe may be considered a large and compact mass. They not only occupy the united principality of Moldo-Wallachia, but form at least half the population of the Austrian (Cisleithanian) province of the Bukovinà, the majority of the inhabitants of the Russian province of Bessarabia, and of the Hungarian principality of Transylvania, as well as an appreciable portion of the population of the adjoining counties of Hungary. All these are claimed by the politicians of Bucharest. In atlases published for the use of the Rouman schools, we find a map of *Dacia Moderna*, including under that name not only the Danubian Principalities, but also Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transylvania, Marmarosulu, Crisiana, and Timisiana. By these three last names are meant the county of Mar-

maros, in the north-east of Hungary, and the country on the banks of the Körös and of the Temes: in other words, all Hungary south and east of the Theiss. This atlas, we are told, is published by order of Charles I., "*Domnu allu Romanirolu*," "Lord of all the Roumans." *

A surgeon belonging to one of the regiments of the Roumanian army told me that there were five nations whom he hated,—the Turks, the Austrians, the Hungarians, the Poles, and the Russians: and all of them for one and the same cause, because they claimed a right to rule over his country. The nations whom he regarded with favour were the French and the Italians. This, however, was in the days before Prince Alexander John I. was expelled, and Prince Charles I. reigned in his stead. Since that time Prussia has gained influence in Roumania, as elsewhere, at the expense of France.

An interesting subject of inquiry—the one, in fact, which is of real practical importance—is the question whether the Rouman element is likely to gain or lose political importance in Transylvania. Unfortunately, it is one on which I cannot speak from personal knowledge, and those from whom I have sought information on the subject, whether theorists or observers, have been too evidently carried away by their own prepossessions for or against

* *Ungarischer Lloyd*, 24 Februar, 1869.

future Rouman ascendancy, for me to place much reliance upon their statements. One thing, however, may be safely asserted, *i.e.* that the great accession of strength and influence acquired by this nationality within the last twenty years is due to the patronage bestowed on them by the Viennese Government, which sought in them a counterpoise to the Magyars. In this respect things are now greatly changed. The influence of Vienna is excluded, and the Magyars have got the reins of power in their own hands. Between 1849 and 1867, a Rouman obtained office on account of his nationality: he will now be promoted in spite of his being one. During the rule of Bach many persons having Magyar names, such as Halász (fisher), Puskás (musketeer), Pasku, &c., changed them to Halasiu, Puscatiu, Pascutiu, in order to give them a Rouman colouring, just as before 1848 and after 1859 many Germans and Slavs have magyarized their names. And here, be it observed, that the main ground for the assertion so often made that half a million of Transylvanian Magyars have changed their nationality, and become wallachized, is the prevalence of Wallachian-speaking peasants of genuine Magyar family names, such as Pap, Kis, and the like. To this, it has been objected that the Wallach serfs, having originally no family names at all, have had such Magyar names imposed upon them by their Húngarian lords.

Although the extent to which the denationalization of the Transylvanian Magyars has proceeded may have been exaggerated, there is no doubt that it has been very great. One cause, the greater costliness of the Magyar or Protestant religion, when compared to the Wallach or Greek Church, has been noticed in a previous chapter. In the south-west of the principality, however, we meet with a curious phenomenon. In the county of Hunyad there are a great many communes of people who can speak no other language than Wallachian. They, however, profess Calvinism, and claim to be Magyars. The pastors in these communes always preach in the Hungarian language, although it is not understood by the people. A local patriot, Count K., thinking this a very unsatisfactory state of things, urged one of these Protestant clergymen to break through this established usage, and to preach to his flock the next Sunday in Wallachian. The pastor acted on the Count's suggestion. At first, his congregation regarded him with astonishment, and then rose and went out one by one, to hold an indignation meeting to denounce the indignity that had been put upon them. The experiment was not repeated, although the inconvenience of the present practice is as clearly perceived as its anomaly. Although these peasants make it a point of honour to adhere to the ancestral faith, attend the Protestant church on Sunday, bring

their children to be baptized by the pastor, &c., their confidant and counsellor in trouble is the Greek pope, and in respect to superstition they are on a level with their Orthodox neighbours.

It is a very commonly-received opinion amongst the Hungarians of Transylvania that, in former times, their numbers were not so disproportionate to that of the Roumans as they are at present. I myself have great doubts as to this opinion being well-founded; at any rate, it cannot be proved, owing to the imperfections of statistical returns in former days, and the much smaller interest then attached to difference of nationality. If it be true, it would be, perhaps, accounted for by the fact of the Wallachs being, on the whole, poorer than their Hungarian fellow-countrymen. At the same time, the assertion so often made that the disproportion has been increased by the selfish policy of the Transylvanian landlords, seems to me to be well-founded. Partly from the different history and social position of the two races, partly, perhaps, from some natural difference of national character, the Wallach is a more docile servant and a more submissive slave than the Magyar. Some observers contend that a similar difference of character exists between the Roman Catholic and Protestant peasants of the Magyar race. The consequence was that the short-sighted Magyar landlords always preferred Roumans as tenants and serfs to

men of their own race. Even at the present day, I have heard employers of labour, who did not belong to the aristocratic class, express their preference for the Roumans,—"They are not so stiff-necked." Consequently, we find that the Magyar element in Transylvania is strongest in the Székel-land, where the aristocratic principle was weakest; while the densest masses of Rouman population are to be found in the most aristocratic portion of the country, around Fehérvár, the former capital of the principality. In 1848-49, the landlords had cause to rue their shortsighted selfishness. It was on them, and in that very neighbourhood, that the insurgent Roumans perpetrated their worst outrages. Now, when it is perhaps too late, there is a disposition on the part of the political classes to reverse their former policy, and artificially to foster the Hungarian rather than the Wallach population. Baron K. observed to me, "A cook here is half a gentleman" (*ein halb gnädiger Herr*) "and I always take care that my cook is a Magyar." The continual exodus of the Székels into the Danubian Principalities is a subject of deep concern to patriotic Hungarians. An advocate of Pest lately bequeathed the bulk of his property to be applied to diverting this stream of emigration towards Hungary.

The East of Europe is still at that stage of civilization in which the words "neighbour" and

"enemy" are more or less synonymous. We should therefore hesitate to believe, on the testimony of Hungarians and Saxons, that the Rouman is naturally cowardly. M. de Gérando, with a modern Frenchman's prejudice in favour of the Latin race, takes a more favourable view of their courage. "Although," says he, "they have not the *furia ungarica*, they defend themselves with more obstinacy than the Hungarians." In proof of his assertion he cites one of their proverbial expressions, *dâ po moarte*, "*donne jusqu' à la mort.*" "Something of Roman valour," he continues, "has remained among them, and when they compare themselves with the Saxons, whose pacific ardour is seldom exercised but in the pursuit of commerce, they are wont to say, *la un Român dece Sassi*, 'to one Wallach ten Saxons.'" A Saxon who was once acting as my driver, having a different standard of comparison in his mind, inverted the sentence, saying, "One Saxon is worth ten Wallachs, is he not?" Our countryman, Mr. Paget, gives somewhat more tangible reasons for doubting the alleged cowardice of the Daco-Romans. "It is certain that nothing depresses the courage so surely as subjection, and so long a period of it as these people have endured cannot have been without effect; yet the Wallach peasant is a bold and successful smuggler, and no one is more ready to attack a wolf or a bear; but it is hard to persuade any, except very stupid men, to

fight without a better object than that of adding to 'the glory of those they do not love." At the same time he objects even more strongly to service in the army than do his fellow-countrymen of the other nationalities. When I was in Transylvania a petition was presented to the Diet from the Saxon inhabitants of the mixed communes on the Wallachian frontier praying that the population might be classed, for the purposes of conscription, according to nationalities. As the Wallachs on whom the lot had fallen evaded service by crossing the frontier, they thought it a great hardship that the Saxons should be exposed in the second lottery to the danger of filling their places. I found a similar complaint made in the county of Szatmár, where Germans and Roumans live side by side.

Another complaint made against them is that of laziness; but there is, perhaps, no more fallible test of the equality and inequality of the races of man than their apparent capacity and willingness for hard work. Whether the Wallach is naturally and necessarily indolent or not I will not pretend to decide, but the most superficial knowledge of his past history shows us what little inducement he had to be industrious. To this it may be answered that now, at any rate, he is a freeman, and might raise himself to an equality with his neighbours. The same fallacious reasoning has been used with respect to the Irish and other subject-

races. A few years of prosperity and freedom cannot undo the work of centuries of subjection and misery. In the great majority of mankind, especially among agricultural and pastoral peoples, the most important and influential portion of a man's education is derived from the domestic hearth, and there linger longest the traditions of a barbarous past. Compared with this the education of schools, and even the intercourse with neighbours in later life, have little effect. But in the case of the Transylvanian Wallach these civilizing influences are inoperative. Over a large part of the country, not to say the whole of it, schools for the Wallach peasanty exist only in name, if at all. As the Wallach forms the majority of the population social intercourse between the races tends rather to depress the Saxon and Székel to his standard than to elevate him to theirs. But a large proportion of the Wallachs seldom or never meet with any others than members of their own nationality, and know no other language than their own. A traveller should beware of judging of the linguistic attainments of the people from the drivers, innkeepers, and ostlers he meets. I have been often assured by my driver that the peasantry of some mixed district through which we were passing understood both languages, and have subsequently found the information incorrect.

Differences of religion also contribute to keep the races of Transylvania apart, and to maintain their

previous inequality. The form of Christianity professed by the Wallachs, as taught to him by popes as ignorant as their flocks, positively fosters indolence and improvidence. "If God," says the Orthodox peasant, "feeds the fowls of the air, who never go to church, how much more will he take care of me who hear mass every Sunday and holiday?" A story told me by a country attorney in the south of Hungary of an incident of the year 1811, illustrates a state of things which is but little improved at the present day. An Italian was passing through the country with a gigantic ox, which he exhibited for money at the markets and fairs. Coming to Lugos, the chief town of the county of Krassó, he excited the attention and cupidity of three Rouman peasants, who waylaid and murdered him on his way to Transylvania. Travellers coming to Lugos reported that they had found the carcase of the ox, whose hide had been removed, lying in the road. The *szolgabíró* gave orders to all the tanners of the place to give information of any persons bringing any large hide to sell. In a few days the three peasants appeared with the hide, were arrested, and, on examination, confessed the murder. They were disappointed at finding that their victim had only a few florins and a roasted fowl in his possession. On being asked what they did with the plunder, they said that they had divided the money equally amongst them, and the roasted fowl

they had given to the dog; as it was Friday they had not eaten it themselves, being afraid of committing a sin.

But the Wallachs have many other superstitions not of Christian origin. Besides the usual fancies about the unlucky character of Friday, they have an objection to beginning any work on Tuesday or Saturday afternoons. The superstitions relating to changelings, witches, vampires, etc., are universally believed amongst them. One Hungarian told me that the whole life of a Wallach is spent in devising talismans against the devil. When any one is suspected of having died of a contagious disorder, the corpse is disinterred, and an onion is put into its mouth. The other day a Hungarian newspaper gave an account of a Wallach peasant digging up the body of his wife, who had died six weeks before, hewing it to pieces before all his neighbours, and then having the fragments buried again. This he did because she walked the earth as a ghost, and would have strangled him. During the prevalence of the cholera in 1866, I read an account of the measures taken by a Wallach village, in the county of Bihar, to protect themselves against the pestilence. Six maidens and six unmarried young men, having first laid aside their clothes, traced with a new plough a furrow around the village, thus forming, as it were, a charmed circle, over which the demons of the cholera were supposed

unable to pass. I had not the opportunity of inquiring personally into the matter, and the Hungarians in general take no interest in popular superstitions, regarding them merely with an impatient contempt. The story reminded me at once of the tracing of the *pomœrium* of Rome by Romulus, and of the rites which Hiawatha instructs his wife to perform to secure the safety of their crops. Indeed, the contributions of the Wallachs to Indo-European folk-lore are neither scanty nor uninteresting; they have been collected by Schott in his *Walachische Märchen.*

The Wallach is said by his hostile neighbours to be not only cowardly and indolent, but also stupid and cruel. A magnate, who had property both in Wallach and Magyar villages, and lived in the latter, said to me, "If I wished to cheat and plunder my dependants, it would be better for me to live in Transylvania than here amongst these Hungarians." So, again, another told me, as eminently characteristic, a story of a Wallach peasant who had come into the town with a message, but neither knew to whom he was sent nor what his message was. The emancipation in 1848 of the copyholds held by the subject-peasants was more severely felt by the landlords in Transylvania than in Hungary, as in the former country a much larger proportion of the land was so held. But of late years the landlords have regained by purchase a large portion of what they then lost.

The improvidence, indolence, and stupidity of the newly-emancipated Wallach, combined with the novel pressure of taxation to make him part with his land at a very low price.

As to his cruelty, I have had occasion, in a previous chapter, to allude to the outrages which he committed in 1848-49. Nor was this the first *jacquerie* of the Wallach peasantry against their Hungarian lords. In 1784 a similar insurrection had been made in the same neighbourhood under the leadership of Hóra and Kloska, in which similar atrocities were perpetrated. On each occasion the Wallachs took advantage of dissensions between their Hungarian masters and their German sovereign. In 1784 the crowned revolutionist, Joseph II., was reforming the Hungarian constitution by arbitrary decrees, and in the beginning of the movement Hóra professed to have the authority of the Emperor for what he did. Some Hungarians, in their anti-Austrian zeal, have gone so far as to maintain that there was a secret understanding between Hóra and the "Germans." But I believe that the complicity has been satisfactorily disproved. Many Hungarians assert that the atrocities perpetrated by these insurgent Wallachs had their origin in the innate vices of their race, and were not the result of the oppression which they had so long endured. In proof of their assertion they refer to the very different conduct of the Magyar peasantry. "If the Wallach

was a peasant," say they, "so was the Hungarian; if one was exposed to the petty tyranny of the lord, so was the other; if one was tempted by the agents of an anti-national Government and the disorders of the times, so might the other have been. Yet the Hungarian peasant did not become a wild beast thirsting after human blood and delighting in diabolical cruelty." Nevertheless, the argument is unfair. The position of the Magyar and Wallach peasant was legally the same, but there were circumstances which modified its hardships in the case of the former which were wanting in that of the latter. The Magyar's reputation for being *nyakas*, "stiff-necked," for not being sufficiently servile and pliable, not only made the lord prefer to have Wallach rather than Magyar peasants on his estate, but, where the latter were present, prevented him from treating them with the same arbitrary injustice. Nor do I believe that the community of race, language, and religion was ever without some effect in creating a certain sympathy between all Magyars, whether noble or not, especially in the presence of a large alien population. The Wallach insurrections were certainly *jacqueries*, but *jacqueries* in which social hatreds and envies were complicated with political influences and dreams of national glory and of national revenge. To these considerations must be added that the Wallachs, belonging as they did to the Oriental Church, were

necessarily inferior in enlightenment and education to the Hungarians who belonged to Western Christendom.

Wherever power is in human hands, it will be abused by some for the purposes of tyranny. I do not suppose that the Transylvanian landlords, as a class, made a worse use of their power than any other set of men, exposed to the same temptations, would have done. I can believe that, generally, the relation between lord and peasant was what we are accustomed, very incorrectly, to call "patriarchal." But even in hurrying through the country, the traveller will hear enough to convince him that all was not satisfactory in the "good old times." The Hungarians tried to persuade me that whatever wrongs they themselves might have committed against the Wallach peasant, he was still more cruelly treated by the Saxons. The Saxons, on the contrary, represented the treatment the subject-race had received from their Hungarian lords as harsher than their own conduct towards them. A Saxon lady referred to the appearance and prosperity of the Wallachs in the Saxonland, a result, however, which I see no reason to attribute to the superior humanity of the Transylvanian Germans. One branch, and but one branch alone, of an important and well-known Protestant family of magnate rank is Catholic. Its Catholicism dates from the reign of Maria Theresa, when its ancestor changed

his religion to escape the consequences of having hung a Wallach pope over the altar of his own church.

It is by no means easy to find out how much animosity really exists between the Hungarians and Roumans in Transylvania. At the same time I have myself no doubt that it is much less than it is generally represented, and that it is not so important a factor in our calculations about the future of the country as it may at first sight appear. A Wallach who was driving along a road in the north of the principality, pointed out to me the site of a church which the Hungarians had burned to the ground. His countenance showed that he considered it a piece of wanton cruelty and injustice, for which they would yet be called to account. This was the only occasion on which I remember a Wallach peasant alluding to the incidents of the war. But, as a rule, I rather avoided the society of the Wallach peasant, on account of my ignorance of their language. On the other hand, in Enyed I found Magyars of the lower rank who retained a very vivid recollection of the horrors of '48 and '49. One of them, who drove me from Enyed to Féhervár, had concealed himself during the massacre, and had been an eyewitness of some of its details. "I call that courage," said he, "where man meets man in open fight; but the Wallachs have only courage when a hundred of them can set

upon one: then they are brave, then they are heroes! The only thing," he continued, "which renders our position tolerable is, that, however many they may be, we are not afraid of them. If the Emperor were to say, 'Slay one another,' we would drive the whole Wallachry (*oláhság*) out of Transylvania.

I was once sitting in the office of a country attorney, in a small Transylvanian town, and speaking about this very subject of the ill-feeling between the nationalities. The man was a Hungarian of the Hungarians, both in political and other respects, but he at once answered with some appearance of concern, "Our Wallachs are not the bad sort of people too many believe them to be, and which I see that you have been persuaded that they are." I ventured to remind him of a land-steward who had recently been murdered by them in open daylight, and amid a large concourse of persons. The attorney, however, seemed to think that the victim had deserved his fate. In this, as in many other instances, Transylvania reminded me of Ireland. Whilst we were talking, a Wallach peasant came in to borrow money of the lawyer. He asked him why he did not rather address himself to the wealthy Wallachs in his own village. The peasant smiled, as much as to say that he well knew the lawyer was joking, and answered: "I know that you are honest and good-hearted, and I would rather be assisted by you than by one of my own

people." Such, at least, was the interpretation in Hungarian, which the attorney subsequently gave me of the conversation they had carried on in Wallachian.

It is to be hoped that the greater prominence given by the present Hungarian Government to popular education will have the effect of improving the condition of the Transylvanian Roumans. Their ignorance, poverty, and the consequent prevalence of communistic ideas amongst them, are the most formidable obstacles to improving the wealth of the country. Incendiarism and the destruction of forests are exceedingly common, and in almost every case are the work of the Rouman peasants. Baron K—— takes an especial interest in the improvement of his vines, and had imported Riessling vine-plants from the Rhine, and stocked a portion of his vineyards with them. This attracted the notice of his peasant neighbours, who pulled them up by night as fast as they were set by day. For this, he told me, the only remedy was perseverance. He carefully abstained from showing that he attached greater value to these new plants than to any others, and at last they were allowed to grow. The same magnate complained to me of his stalls in another village being continually burnt down by incendiaries. He explained their not burning down the stalls near his residence from the closeness with which the village was built. They

were consequently afraid that the fire would spread from the lord's stables to their own cottages. At the same time I ought to mention that at Kronstadt I was told that the Wallachs in that neighbourhood are not so much addicted to picking and stealing as in other parts of the country. This is attributed to the complete separation of the woods reserved to the town from those belonging to its former subject-peasants, the severity with which all offences against property were punished, and the greater amount of employment afforded to the labouring classes by the manufactures there carried on.

I was told, in the south of Hungary, that the Wallachs have more natural capacity than the Serbs, although a smaller proportion of them are educated, as they have not the restless social and political ambition and energy which characterized the latter. A similar testimony to the capacity of the Wallachs is borne in Transylvania. Their children are said, in the common schools, to surpass the children of their Saxon neighbours. It has been observed that when a well-to-do Wallach determines that his son shall be something better than a peasant, he has him educated for one of the clerical professions,—as a pope, an attorney, or a government official. The consequence of this is that the majority of millers, carpenters, and other handicraftsmen all over the country are Magyars or Székels.

Perhaps my experience of Transylvania was not large enough to justify the generalization, but it seemed to me that the younger generation of landlords do not know Wallachian so generally, or so well, as their fathers. They learn English instead. This is perhaps connected with the increase of town-life and centralization in the country. If this be so, it is much to be regretted, as it deprives the landlords of their civilizing influence over the peasantry, and weakens the hold which Hungary has over Transylvania.

Nor are the clergy of the United Greek Church likely to fill the place of the Magyar gentry as a link between the two countries. At the present day considerations of nationality overcome those derived from a community of religion, and as a rule the Uniate Wallachs sympathize rather with their Orthodox brethren than with their fellow-Catholics of the Latin rite. The points in which the Uniates agree with the Roman Catholics are, comparatively speaking, remote from everyday life. They are the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Pope, the insertion of the *Filioque* in the Nicene Creed, and the existence of the fires of purgatory. On the other hand, they retain the old oriental liturgies, which are celebrated not in Latin but in the Slavonic or in the vernacular; they observe the more frequent and much severer fasts of the East; the chalice is still given to the laity in the

Eucharist; their parish priests are all married and wear long beards; they allow divorce in the case of the wife's adultery, and still reckon by the Julian instead of the Gregorian calendar. From this it will be seen that the peasantry among the so-called "Greek Catholics" are much more Greek than Catholic.

The peculiar geographical position of Transylvania makes this little mountainous country of great strategical importance. The future political position of the Hungarian State may be said to depend on its keeping possession of this natural citadel. If Transylvania were once in the hands of a foreign power, whether Russia or Roumania, the central plains of Hungary, the principal *habitat* of the Magyar race, would be at its mercy. Besides this, the compact mass of the Székel population on its extreme eastern frontier would thus be lost to their brethren, and the Székels are the most industrious, frugal, and democratic portion of the Hungarian nation. The consolidation of the Rouman race into an independent nation capable of holding its own is probably still far distant. At the same time, in the present democratic age, the government of Transylvania against the wishes of the majority of its population is an evident impossibility. It is, therefore, the duty of Hungarian statesmen to discover a permanent and satisfactory *modus vivendi* between the two nationalities. Although it is, perhaps, true that the Magyars are superior in strength to their

Rouman rivals, neither of them can dispense with the assistance of the other if they would maintain their independence in face of the immense power of Russia. At present Transylvania is a Hungarian Ireland, presenting many similar difficulties of pacification.

CHAPTER XXXI.

TRAVELLING IN TRANSYLVANIA.

Transylvanian Travel—Nagy Várad—Bishop's Bath—Magyars and Wallachs—Cemeteries—On the Road—Szilágy Somlyó—Hungarian Scientific Association—Public Conveyances—Pedestrianism—Into Wallachia—Through the Csik—A Rude Conveyance—Travelling Expeditions—A Watering-place—At a Pope's House—On the Moors—Among the Shepherds—With the *Savants*—Last Words on Székel-land.

OWING to the attractions which a hilly country presents to the great majority of English tourists the two portions of the Hungarian kingdom which they are most likely to visit are the Northern Carpathians and Transylvania. In my Hungarian travels my course was shaped, not by the presence or absence of picturesque scenery, but of a Magyar population; I consequently know nothing of the Northern Carpathians. Of what I saw in Transylvania I may be, perhaps, allowed to add a few words, although I have already devoted so many chapters to this, the most varied, and perhaps the most interesting portion of the Hungarian

kingdom. At the time of my visit (1864) there was not a single railway in the whole of the principality; now one has been finished to Féhervár, or Karlsburg, and others are in course of construction, which will open up the whole of the centre and south of the country, and ultimately form the communication between Pest and Bucharest.

My starting point was the pleasant town of Nagy-Várad, or, as the Germans call it, Grosswardein, ten hours distant by railroad from Pest. It is the chief town of Bihar, the largest county in Hungary. The population of Bihar amounts to about 300,000 souls, of whom 180,000 are Magyars and 120,000 are Wallachs. It was in Várad that I first made the acquaintance of the Wallach or Rouman nationality. The town itself is very Hungarian in its appearance, with several large, open squares, and a great number of gardens and orchards. Your true Magyar dearly loves his *rus in urbe.* Besides which, it is an ecclesiastical place, abounding in convents and seminaries, each of which must, of course, have its walled garden attached to it. It is the see of two bishops, each having his own palace and cathedral. One of them is called the "Catholic" bishop, while the other, although equally acknowledging the Pope's supremacy, is generally refused that proud title, and styled the "Wallach" bishop. To speak more plainly, he has jurisdiction over the Catholic congregations of

the Greek rite, the so-called United Greeks. Both the palace and cathedral of the Greek bishop are surpassed by those of his Latin yoke-fellow, who is, I was told, *nagyon nagy úr*, "a very great lord," holding the lordship of ninety-nine manors. His palace and cathedral, from their great size, do give an air of importance to the town, but they are unfortunately built in a debased rococo style of architecture. Nagy-Várad was often the head-quarters of the Turks, to whom is attributed a castle which is still used as a barracks. I could not but regard this building with some interest as the prison for a few weeks in 1852 of the American traveller, Mr. Brace, who subsequently published in England his unpleasant experiences of the Austrian police. This place was also the scene of the great, the almost incredible exertion made by the government of Kossuth, to provide arms, cannon, and all other munitions of war for the Hungarian armies in 1849. Of all that activity there is now not a trace; nothing remains but the dulness and discomfort of an Austrian barracks in a provincial town.

About half an hour's distance from Várad is a charmingly-situated watering-place, called after the lord of the manor *Püspök Fürdő*, "Bishop's Bath." It lies in a small valley, almost surrounded by low tertiary hills, and delightfully wooded. In the midst is the crater of a sort of water volcano, which continually casts up an immense number of very small

shells, belonging to existing species. These accumulate around the edge of the crater in the same way as the lava of a volcano does. The water contains salts of lime, and a great quantity of free carbonic acid gas. It is, besides, of a very high temperature, which it maintains throughout the year. In the stream which flows from it is found the *nymphæa thermalis*, brought hither from the Nile by the Turks during their occupation of Hungary. In its medicinal properties the water of this natural hot-bath is said to resemble that of Bad-Gastein.

From Nagy-Várad I went in a *calècke* to the small town of Szilágy-Somlyó. My driver was a Magyar Calvinist, who had fought under Bem in Transylvania, and retained a great respect for his old commander. His wanderings had extended from Pest to Bucharest, and he spoke both Hungarian and Wallachian, but of German he knew but one or two broken sentences. As it was the first time I had travelled in the Wallach area, I continually inquired of him the nationality of the peasants we met on the road, and I was struck by the unhesitating way in which he answered at once "*magyar*" or "*oláh*," as the case might be. When I asked him if he knew them by their dress, he said, "No, but by their features." I doubt whether a passing traveller can always rely on his own discernment on this point. A typical Magyar and a typical Wallach are, it is

true, easy to distinguish, but then so many Hungarians and so many Wallachs are not typical, and the types fade away into one another so gradually as to render the task of discrimination very delicate. The Wallach, I may here observe, has the more finely chiselled features, a broad, often low, forehead, and prominent nose. He is generally, though not always, darker than the Magyar, sometimes taller, but seldom so stoutly built, nor are the limbs so well-knit. One of the minor tests of nationality is their different behaviour on the road. The Hungarian, who is independent and self-asserting, took no notice of me and my *calèche.* I was a stranger, and he did not know what sort of a stranger. On the contrary, the Wallachs as they passed always took off their huge felt *sombreros* in the most solemn and respectful manner.

Among other things, my driver pointed out to me the different position of the cemetery in Magyar and Wallach villages. In each case the church is placed in the middle of the village, but the latter have their dead buried close to the church, while the former always have the cemetery outside the village. He seemed surprised, not to say disappointed, when I told him that, in this respect, the English agreed with the Wallachs. He knew that England was a Protestant country, and therefore supposed that our customs must be the same as those of the Protestant

Magyars rather than those of the superstitious Greeks. On the occasion of another visit to that part of the country I remember the astonishment which a village pastor expressed to me at the rumour he had heard that the Church of England wished to unite itself with the Orthodox Eastern Church.

As we drove along we met four-wheeled carts or waggons, very simple in their construction, and, for the most part, as guiltless of iron as if they had been made in the "Stone Age," drawn slowly by pairs of beautiful large white oxen, with wondrously long horns. In some cases the Wallach who walked by their side had fastened his cloak or pelisse behind their horns to save himself the trouble of carrying it through the heat of the day. Although a really high-bred horse is a much finer and handsomer animal than any ox, yet an ordinary horse is by no means as picturesque an object as these large white, or rather cream-coloured oxen, with their high, prominent bones, long legs, immense horns, and soft expressive eyes. Further on a man is ploughing, while his four horses are driven by a girl seated *à califourchon* on one of them. We next encounter a party of Hungarian peasants in a light waggon, drawn by three horses abreast. Lingering behind trots a young colt. The country is perfectly guiltless of hedges, so he has been improving his opportunities, and taking the good the gods provide in the shape of an unprotected field

of green oats. The domestic animals appear to be much tamer here than in England. This arises probably from the different way in which they are treated. The oxen, for instance, which draw the waggons, are in many places directed by a woman who walks before them, and if they have to go through a puddle she must stride through it herself. Sometimes a boy, seldom a man, replaces the woman in this duty. The shepherd, again, does not trust to the help of his dog, but walks sometimes behind, more often before, the flock which he leads or drives with his voice. As long as they keep together on the right road, he coaxes them along with gentle words; when they stray much and are very troublesome, he betakes himself to imprecations. It is interesting to observe how well the stragglers, generally goats, understand that all this bad language is to be put down to their individual accounts. Meanwhile the dog is enjoying a sinecure. His business is not to drive sheep by day, but to watch over them by night, and to protect his master's property against the wolf, the bear, and human thieves.

It was eight o'clock in the evening when I reached the little town, or rather village, of Szilágy-Somlyó. Although but few of its houses are anything better than cottages, it is the chief place of the little county of Kraszna. Kraszna, with two other counties, and the extra-comitatual district of Kővár, have been

sometimes considered as part of Hungary, sometimes as part of Transylvania. They had finally become, at the time of my visit, for all purposes of administration, portions of the larger country, but, in social respects, they are still Transylvanian. Somlyó was the original and principal estate of the powerful family of the Báthoris, who succeeded the Zápolyas in the government of Transylvania. On the extinction of the Báthori family, it came into the possession of the princely family of Rákóczy. When the property of the last of the insurgent dynasts, the second Prince Francis Rákóczy, was confiscated through his refusal to accept the peace of Szatmár (1711), this portion came into the possession of the Bánffys. This latter family are at present the owners of the greater part of the county of Kraszna, and, as they belong to the Transylvanian aristocracy, Koloszvár is the social capital of this part of the country.

Kraszna is even less visited by strangers than most other parts of Hungary and Transylvania, the roads from Hungary to Koloszvár, whether from the west or the north, passing some distance to the south and east of it. It was a knowledge of this fact which first suggested to me the idea of visiting it. In Pest I had made the acquaintance of a young man whose uncle lived at Somlyó, to whom he had kindly given me a letter of introduction. The evening of my arrival, when I had put up in the little inn, I found

that the old gentleman was not at home, nor did he return for one or two days, as he was staying at a friend's house in a neighbouring village. Great was their surprise to hear that an Englishman had arrived and inquired after him. His host, in particular, assured him that my alleged nationality must be an imposture,—an idea which, I believe, was not completely dispelled until he had himself made my acquaintance. I had originally intended merely to pass through the Szilágyság as a tourist, but the kindness and pressing hospitality of my new friends prevailed on me to change my plans, and to stay there six weeks,—ostensibly to learn Hungarian, but I did not make much progress, as a great deal of our conversation was carried on in English. In such pleasant society the austerest resolutions melt away.

Indeed, I believe I should have stayed there longer were it not for a circumstance which greatly increased the enjoyment of my visit to Transylvania. The medical men of Hungary are wont to hold an annual meeting in some town or other of the Hungarian kingdom, and with them are associated all who take an interest in the various physical sciences; and, in consequence of an extension of the original scheme, antiquarians also. This "Association of Hungarian Doctors and Savants" were that year to hold their meeting in the little Transylvanian town of Maros Vásárhely about the end of August, by

which time I wished to have traversed the whole of the Székel-land in the extreme east of the principality. When I had spent about six weeks in the Szilágyság, I had barely time to accomplish my programme, and my departure could be put off no longer. So Count B.'s family attorney being about to return in his own carriage to Koloszvár, the Count advised me to take my seat by his side, and travelling in the leisurely manner customary in out-of-the-way parts of the country, *i.e.* visiting two or three friends, half for business and half for pleasure, we arrived at Koloszvár in the course of the afternoon of the second day.

My journey as far as Kronstadt was made in *diligences.* The two members of the Alpine Club, to whom I have before alluded, speak of these public conveyances as being the worst of their kind, and supremely uncomfortable. This unfavourable judgment may be the consequence of their having travelled in one thirty-six hours on end, from Arad to Hermannstadt. Such impatience generally defeats its own object—at any rate in little-known countries, such as Transylvania. I had intended to make a large portion of my tour through the Székel-land on foot, with my knapsack. Partly on account of the long distances at which the several objects of interest stand from one another, but more from my ignorance of the country, and the short space of time I had

left myself, I so far modified my scheme as to do the greater part of the journey in the light waggons of the country. Besides, I was certainly out of training for pedestrianism, and lost three days at Csik-Szereda through bad weather. As it was, I arrived at Maros-Vásárhely only just in time to take part in the preliminary *soirée*, in which the members of the Association, their hosts, and strangers like myself made one another's acquaintance.

One of my walks was a solitary excursion from Kronstadt, over the frontier into Wallachia. I started early in the morning, and as I scarcely ever went out of sight of the high-road to Bucharest, I was in no danger of losing my way. This high-road runs through the Tömös Pass, but at the time of my visit had been so cut up by the summer floods that the diligence communication was suspended. The scenery of the neighbourhood of Kronstadt is especially picturesque, owing to the fact that several different geological formations there come to the surface. Although the day was warm, it was not too much so for walking; the woods on one side of the road, and the noisy impetuous brook on the other, conjoined with the high altitude to keep the air cool and refreshing. Just before I came to the Austrian custom-house I attracted the attention of a Saxon *Forster* who lived by the roadside, and with Transylvanian hospitality he invited me into his house to take a cup

of white coffee. When I reached the Wallachian frontier, I found that I had timed my arrival ill. It was just past noon, and the officials of the Prince Alexander John were at dinner. When I had crossed the neutral territory, and passed the cross-bar which told me that I was definitely on Roumanian ground, I was prevented from seeking shelter and refreshment in the little hamlet of Predial, by the unmistakable gestures of a militiaman who was walking up and down in front of the guard-house. As I could speak no Wallachian, and he understood nothing else, I thought it best to submit to destiny, thus presenting itself in the guise of an armed man, and patiently sat down on the low brick terrace, or rather platform, which, after the fashion of Hungarian houses, occupies the central space between the two wings of the cottage. I could not satisfy hunger or thirst here, but I could, at any rate, rest in the shade. The sentinel was dressed in most respects like any other Wallachian peasant, with the long white linen tunic, the broad brass-studded leather belt, the close-fitting coarse white trousers and untidy-looking sandals. The only signs of his quasi-military position were his musket, with fixed bayonet, and a military cap and cloak. When I had thus rested for about half-an-hour there came out of the house two persons in the female costume of Western Europe, who proceeded at once to seat themselves on the thresholds

of the doors opening on the terrace, one on each side, and to smoke the cigarettes which they had already made. The contrast between their appearance and their behaviour obliged me to turn round that I might smile unperceived. Recovering my gravity, I addressed them in Hungarian, German, and French, but it was evident that they knew none of these languages. I was *au bout de mon latin*, for I knew no more of Italian than of Wallachian itself. The difficulty was, however, solved by the one who seemed to be the mistress calling out of the house her Székler servant-girl to act as interpreter. As soon as I had explained my innocent character, a word or two from the mistress made the sentinel let me go on my way. The hamlet, I found, did not contain any inn—the nearest approach to which was the shop, where I found four long-bearded Wallachian popes playing cards. The only refreshment I could procure was raw bacon, bread and red pepper, and a thin wine of the colour which the Germans call *schiller*. Having partaken of this limited refreshment, I fell fast asleep before I had well finished my cigar.

Before making this little expedition it had been necessary for me to make an appearance in person before the Austrian commandant in Kronstadt, and have my passport specially viséd. When I woke from my after-dinner nap I had to show this valuable document to the Roumanian official at the frontier

guard-house, after which I started leisurely on my way back during the cool of the evening. I had not seen much, but I had had a pleasant walk, and could boast of having spent a few hours under the suzerainty of the Grand Seigneur.

The next day, about noon, I left Kronstadt in a calèche for Kezdi-Vásárhely, and by hard walking all the day after I got to Tusnád, a small watering-place where even the ordinary drinking-water is more or less impregnated with common salt. On the morning of the third day, feeling somewhat knocked up by my exertions, I would continue my journey to Csik-Szereda on wheels, but could not find any "opportunity" (*Gelegenheit*), as the Germans in that part of the world call a vehicle. At last, about noon, I got a share of a covered cart, in which two Jewish *commis-voyageurs* were travelling northward. Of course I was glad of the opportunity of getting on, otherwise my travelling companions were of the most unpleasant I met in the country. They affected great mystery about their nationality, whence they came, and whither they were going, but did not conceal their contempt for parliamentary government and constitutionalism, whether Austrian or Hungarian. They insinuated that I was a political spy with such an assumption of preternatural wisdom, that any denial of the fact would have been something much worse than useless.

The Csik is an elevated plain on both sides of the upper Alt, whose villages lie for the most part off the main road. Our "opportunity" turning aside into one of these little villages, I and the *commis-voyageurs* parted company, and at an early hour I got to Csik-Szereda, or rather, the adjoining village of Mártonfalva, where an Armenian kept a decent inn. The next morning it rained hard, and continued to do so for the greater part of the three following days. I sat indoors two days, writing letters and my notes, and spelling over an attempt at a guide-book for Transylvania. On the morning of the third day I felt that I must proceed, rain or no rain, and got to Oláhfalu by dinner-time. There I found an Austrian officer and his mother, and got somehow into a conversation about our government of India, the bureaucratic character of which greatly delighted the officer, as he found a great similarity between it and the Austrian government of Hungary. He spoke of the Hungarian gentry with great bitterness. That some of them called themselves "counts," seemed to him an aggravation of their barbarism. Foreigners, *i.e.* non-Magyars, generally detest or admire the Hungarians immoderately. From Oláhfalu I descended the hill to Udvarhely, in another covered waggon, in company with a tailor of the latter place. The depressing influence of the weather, bad health on his part, and imperfect knowledge of the language on

mine, made both of us singularly uncommunicative; nor was the inn—one of the worst I entered in the principality—calculated to raise my spirits. The next morning a county gentleman, residing in a neighbouring village, to whom I had a letter of introduction, reproved me for having put up at an inn instead of going on to him directly. Although I arrived at his house immediately after breakfast, with the intention of travelling northward in hot haste, he sent away my waggon and entertained me all day. The next morning he himself took me in his own carriage to a small watering-place, called Korond, where I was handed over to the hospitable care of the manager of the Government salt-mines at Parajd. This gentleman bore an historical name, his grandfather having been the brother of one of the generals who, for not having been *always* victorious over the allies, were guillotined by the Jacobins of Paris. The younger brother, alarmed, sought refuge in Germany, where he made the acquaintance of a Transylvanian magnate, who persuaded him to settle in the principality, where the Diet made him a "nobleman" of Transylvania. After seeing a salt-mine—a thing which every stranger in Transylvania is expected to do —I was induced to try an experiment, which I cannot recommend to any future tourist, *i.e.* to travel to Borszék in one of the waggons which carry down its excellent mineral-water into Hungary. The fragile

bottles are packed in shallow boxes as long as the waggon itself, the whole being covered by a light tilt of matting. I had to lie on the hay with which the box was filled on its return journey, the tilt being so low that I was unable to sit upright under it. In this conveyance I travelled from three o'clock in the afternoon of one day, and arrived at Borszék at four o'clock on the following afternoon, having travelled all night, except a halt of two or three hours to feed the horses. This was not the most comfortable way of travelling, but was so far economical, that I only paid two florins for the whole journey. Whenever we ascended a hill I got out and walked, a proceeding which always discomposed my Hungarian drivers; they seemed to think that they were not earning their money. Elsewhere I paid sums varying from two to five florins for half a day's ride, or from eight to ten florins for a whole day. It is impossible to estimate the expense exactly, as it varies according to the vicinity of a large town, the traveller's own capacity for bargaining, and the care taken of him by his innkeeper, or the friend from whose house he starts.

When I left Kronstadt I entrusted my portmanteau, with my superfluous funds, to be transmitted through the post-office to Maros Vásárhely. Having hitherto enjoyed the advantage of travelling *expeditus*, as Captain Dalgetty would have said, I had

at Borszék to feel its inconveniences. In spite of its remote and, comparatively speaking, inaccessible position, I found it quite a fashionable watering-place, haunted by dress, etiquette, and such like civilized demons as one would not have expected on the top of the Székel hills. My rough pedestrian dress made me feel just a trifle uncomfortable in this rendezvous of Transylvanian magnates and Moldavian boyars. Indeed I gave no small offence to a somewhat rough-mannered Székel, who apparently filled the office of master of the ceremonies for Borszék, by not giving him, on my arrival, my name as a visitor to the *kurort*. Hotel, properly speaking, there is none; but one of the largest of the cottages which compose the village contains space enough for a restaurant and a ball-room. There were also three or four of the visitors lodging in it, but most of them were scattered about in the other log-built cottages of the village. Some of these were then being built; I thus had an opportunity of observing them in different stages of process. The walls are formed of pine-logs, roughly squared with the axe, fitted closely together, and then concealed by external and internal coatings of lath and plaster. Most of the rooms have neither stoves nor hearths, as they are only meant to be occupied during the summer months.

By way of viewing the country under a different aspect, I determined to employ the few days yet

remaining, before I was due in Maros Vásárhely, in making an excursion in wandering among the hills between Borszék and the valley of the Bistritz, the highest peak of which, surmounted by a cairn raised by the Austrian Ordnance surveyors, rejoices in the Wallachian name Pietroszului, or "the red stones." So one afternoon I started for the little hamlet of Bélbor—the other side of a wooded hill called by the very common name of Bükk, "beech-tree" or "beech-forest"—accompanied by a Székel, who served at once as my porter and my guide. I took with me some roast-beef and a newly-killed duck, for there was no meat to be bought at Bélbor. This place is a straggling collection of some fifteen or twenty Wallach cottages, for the most presenting a miserable appearance. I had an introduction to the only "civilized" person of the place, the *Forstmeister* of the woods which belong to the Crown. He was a Pole, and could speak but little or no Hungarian. He told me that he could not give me accommodation himself because he was a bachelor. The public-house of the hamlet, kept by a Székel whose brother was to be my guide, was also adjudged to be no fit place of sojourn for my "lordship." I was, therefore, consigned to the hospitality of the pope, who was, as the rules of his church require, a married man. His wife was afterwards alluded to, by a Saxon of Kronstadt, with all the conceit of superior civilization, as a "Penelope."

Certain it is that her costume was decidedly classical in character, and she almost always had the distaff in her hand. Not wishing to be exorbitant in my demands on her hospitality, I asked for a piece of bread, but was at once surprised and alarmed that my request seemed to embarrass her; it evidently had to be sent for, and when it arrived it proved very small in quantity and very curious in quality. Indeed, though considerably tougher and much more solid, it was very like a muffin. In fact, the Wallachs, and especially those who live in the mountains, look upon bread—wheaten bread—to be eaten, if at all, only on high days and holidays. The pope's wife could speak but very little Hungarian and no German, and to my *nu sciu romanescie*, "I do not know Wallachian," she answered *elég rosz*, "sufficiently bad." Perhaps she did not really mean what her words implied, that I ought to have learnt Wallachian; but I cordially assented, as in my tour through Transylvania I more than once felt the want of that language. Her eldest son, a boy of some fourteen years old, could speak German. I observed that he spoke of his people as *Wallachen* and not *Rumänen*. He went to school at Kronstadt; a sufficiently strong proof of the desire for education felt in Transylvania, when we consider that the pope was merely a peasant a little better off than his fellow-villagers, and his consort exhibited the same signs of coarse work as the wife of any

cottager in England. The pope himself was, perhaps, a favourable specimen of his class, as he had formerly been the notary of the village; he had married when only seventeen years old, and, later in life, had spent two years at Balazsfalva to acquire the necessary modicum of theology. It is worth mentioning that he could not speak German. His dwelling, too, was somewhat above the average, consisting of two cottages completely detached from one another, with from about fifteen to twenty feet of natural turf between them, tracked and worn with footsteps.

The next day I started for Pietròszului, a Székel who had a local reputation as a hunter, and carried his gun, serving as my guide; while a "Roman" (so he called himself) carried my scanty baggage on his back. The latter had served in the Austrian army, could speak German, and was the better educated of the two; it was, therefore, to me an amusing instance of the relation between the two nationalities that he should have to fill the subordinate position. He had served in the campaigns of '48 and '49 against the Hungarians, having been taken as a recruit about six months before the troubles began, but did not appear to have any zeal for the flag under which he had fought. He seemed to regard the expulsion of the Austrian troops out of Transylvania by Bem; their compulsory sojourn of some months in Wallachia, and their subsequent return—thanks to Russian inter-

vention—as rather a good joke than otherwise; and took especial trouble to impress upon me that the whole credit of the achievement ought not to be ascribed to the Magyars and Székels alone, that Saxons, Jews, Gypsies, and a great number of "Romans" served in the national army.

On the hills over which we took our way, my companions said there were bears, wolves, foxes, and roe deer, but neither red deer, chamois, nor wild boar; however, we met with no game during the three days we were out. As I am not a member of the Alpine Club, and feel no satisfaction in having put my neck in jeopardy, I do not care to contradict the statement of one of its members that the mountains on the Moldavian frontiers of Transylvania, although some of them be 8,000 feet high, are nothing more than "gigantic moors;" nor can I pretend that I was ever in personal danger. During the whole of my Transylvanian tour I never carried arms, nor felt the necessity for doing so. It is true that the country was wild enough in the sense of being almost uninhabited—we did not meet above seven human beings in a day—and our route lay for the most part through silent woods where there was very often no sign of a path. Still such people as we did meet my companions seemed to know, and knew, too, whereabouts they were to be found. These were the Wallach shepherds on the hills.

The shepherds and herdsmen in Transylvania are almost always Wallachs, even in the villages which are otherwise wholly occupied by other nationalities. But they are not merely hireling shepherds. Many of the Wallach peasants of Transylvania, especially of the villages near Hermannstadt, are large sheep-masters. Their flocks are entrusted to shepherds of their own nationality, who, during the summer, pasture them on the slopes of the southern and eastern Carpathians, but remove during the winter into the plains of Moldavia and Wallachia, or sometimes still further, crossing the Pruth or the Danube into Bessarabia or Bulgaria. At certain stated times the owner of the sheep goes up into the mountains to reckon with his shepherds, and to receive the moneys they have accumulated by the sale of the cheese and wool. These shepherds have a high reputation for honesty towards their employers, in spite of the many indications of a contempt for the law to be noticed among the Transylvanian Wallachs, and the facilities for fraud and robbery afforded by the wild life they lead. In our walk of three days we stopped at four of the huts in which these people shelter themselves. One of these was not much more substantial, and very little larger, than an arbour in an English garden. On the other hand, the two in which we slept were as large as ordinary one-roomed cottages; with a fire lit in the middle on the ground, and the roof covered

with large pieces of bark, on which great stones had been placed to prevent their being blown off by the wind. Both of these huts had a second room at the back to store the cheese in. In the first of them we found three shepherds, who received us rather sulkily, and the next morning my Rouman complained bitterly of their behaviour in not rising when I entered, not offering us any refreshments, or assisting us in cooking. For a few kreutzers, however, they let us have some maize flour, some milk, and some curds. The maize flour was mixed in some cold water, in a bowl, with a wooden spoon, into a thick dry paste; to it were added some curds, the whole rolled into a ball and baked in the embers. Milk, maize flour, and curds seemed to be the only articles of food that these mountaineers lived on. Nor could they get spirits unless they went purposely for them to the hamlets in the lower valleys. Long before we reached these huts we were made aware of their existence by the loud barking of their watch-dogs. The relations between these animals and their masters were exceedingly primitive and severe. The first mark of hospitality a shepherd shows to the approaching stranger is in the form of a large stick thrown at his own dog. The poor animals are fed with very thin milk and water in a trough, and as this diet keeps their appetites very keen they are not allowed to enter the hut. As I have mentioned above, I never saw these

dogs assist in herding the sheep after the manner of our Scotch collies.

Besides the beef and roast duck, my Székel carried, slung across his shoulder, a sort of wooden canteen, filled with the so-called *fenyűviz*, "pine-water." This spirit is made from juniper-berries; but what I have tasted was decidedly weaker than London gin. As I felt that I could not forbid their treating their civil shepherd friends to a drain, it was all gone early on the third morning, and as the meat was all gone too, I felt impatient to get to Oláh Toplicza, on the Maros. Half-way down the thickly-wooded valley I fell in with a Hungarian surveyor, whose baggage, instruments, &c. were carried by a cavalcade of three ponies. He was then resting in a rude wayside hut, and treated me to some of his provisions, in the shape of fried salt mutton. I parted with my two companions in the evening, and got up early—about half-past two in the morning—for the long ride down the valley of the Maros to Szász Regen. The first half of the way is impassable for wheeled carriages, as it repeatedly crosses the bed of the river, which is in many places enclosed by high precipitous banks. During the forenoon of the next day I arrived at Maros-Vásárhely.

The excursions which were made by the assembled doctors and *savants* to the salt-mines at Szovata and Parajd had a picturesque character of their own,

as we formed a long line of upwards of a hundred light waggons, each containing three excursionists and a peasant driver, winding up hill and down dale, through the lonely valleys and garlanded villages. Wherever we went, our arrival struck terror into the hearts of the simple peasantry. So many "gentlemen" (*urak*) coming together, they argued, boded no good —more probably, rebellion or foreign war. The most plausible explanation was that we were a commission conducting an inquiry into the resources of the country, with a view to increasing the taxes. Another element of amusement was afforded by the constant endeavours of the local gentry to import politics into the everlasting speeches and toasts which everywhere accompanied the wine of Mediasch, the cold trout, served up with vinegar and oil, and the other delicacies of Székel-land. After the meeting was over I saw the Saxon town of Schässburg, and revisited the Székel-land, from Udvarhely to Kronstadt, in company with some six or seven Hungarian friends and an Austrian professor. Of course, in many ways travelling in a large company is pleasanter than alone; but it has its drawbacks. For instance, at Oláhfalu our party of nine had to pass the night in one room, the two beds being assigned to the oldest of our party, while the rest slept on straw spread on the floor, and covered with sheets. Nor did I come

so directly in contact with the people as when travelling, as I usually did, alone.

One of the Professors of Enyed, as I was leaving Transylvania, said that I had left the most "classical" portion of the principality unvisited. He referred to the romantic Hátszeg, the ruins of Déva and Vajda-Hunyad, the dolomite mountains of Detunata, and the mines of gold, silver, and tellurium at Nagyág and Abrudbánya, to which I answered that any future English traveller would be sure to visit them, while he would be more likely to neglect the more distant and less celebrated Székel-land. The brief outlines I have given of my own wanderings in that primitive country may, perhaps, lead others in search of a new field of travel to explore it more thoroughly.

THE END.



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